

During the whole of the Spring and early Summer of that year you were told by many people that the result of the election was in the lap of the gods; that the Republicans had a chance to win -- that people were tired, tired of liberal government. And you remember the Literary Digest and other polls -- (and) but most greatly you remember that only two States that November, two states out of forty-eight voted to return to "do nothing conservatism."

In 1938, in speaking against the misuse of concentrated power by relatively small minority groups in our country, I said that this Administration was "striving to uphold the integrity of the morals of our democracy". And that "attacks (by government) on the misuse of concentrated power have been distorted into attacks on our whole system of private profit and private enterprise." And to illustrate this I pointed out that at that time six hundred million dollars worth of ownership of electric utilities securities held substantial control over thirteen billion dollars worth of all electric utilities securities -- and I said, by way of illustration, "Here is a ninety-six inch dog being wagged by a four inch tail."

This year the nation faces very much the same kind of an electoral campaign as it did in 1932 and in 1936. It seems to me very obvious that if the Democratic Party is to defeat the Republican Party next November we must nominate a liberal pair of candidates, running on a liberal and forward-looking Platform.

I am not speaking tonight of world affairs. Your Government is keeping a cool head and a steady hand. We are keeping out of the wars that are going on in Europe and in Asia, but I do not subscribe to the preachment of a Republican aspirant for the Presidency who tells you, in effect, that the United States and the people of the United States should do nothing to try to bring about a better order, a more secure order, of world peace when the time comes to try.

It is the domestic scene which I stress tonight. During the next four years there will be new problems to face. We need a national government with enough imagination and enough courage to meet those new problems with concrete, specific remedies -- just as we have met many problems that were new during the past seven years with imagination and courage and practical idealism. I do not say that the machinery that we have used or are using is perfect or that it cannot be improved -- but you need practical idealism to make the present machinery function better.

On the other side of the fence, the pre-Convention campaign, up-to-date, has resolved itself roughly into three parts, none of which appeals very greatly to my intelligence.

First, our opponents are seeking to frighten the country -- by telling people that the present Administration is deliberately trying to put this nation into war or that it is inevitably drifting into war. You know better than that and so do I.

Secondly, they are telling you that many of the measures of the past seven years are good but that they would carry them out with greater efficiency if they were in power. I do not think that we can swallow that assertion because, quite aside from millions of fine citizens who normally vote the Republican ticket year in and year out, we and they must acknowledge that practically every serious government scandal since the Civil War has occurred under a Republican Administration, and, furthermore, that the underlying Republican leadership -- the groups and cliques which have always owned the Republican party are still just as much in the saddle of that ownership as they were in the old days.

And finally, they tell you that they will perform an amazing miracle -- that they will give everybody jobs -- that they will maintain relief -- that they will give work to the unemployed -- that they will meet the needs of the national defense -- that they will reduce your taxes -- that they will do all kinds of unknown things for the farmers -- and that with it all, the total of the expenditures of the Federal Government will go down so much that they will have a surplus in the Treasury. And you and I know, from long experience, when we ask (them) how are you going to do it, (that) their only answer is the vague assertion that they will repeal all the horrid and nerve-racking restrictions on private business and let private business do all the rest.

In other words, all that the country is being promised

to date is a return of the old days of 1929 when America went speculation mad, when half the families of the land were sucked in to any orgy of over-production, of stock gambling, while at the very moment of it unemployment was increasing, farm prices were decreasing and we were riding for the worst social and economic fall the country had ever known.

Speaking as an American, I am sorry that a campaign, which should be pitched on a level of intelligent argument, has fallen into such low estate as early as this. Speaking as a partisan, I rejoice because I am confident that the average voter in the United States is already somewhat tired of the "view-with-alarm" outcries of the Republican candidates.

I do not think that the campaign of Democrats should be pitched on the old level of just pointing with pride. During these seven years I think that we have accomplished much but that a great deal remains to be done by way of accomplishments in relation to existing problems, and that the next Administration will have to devise ways and means, in a liberal and progressive spirit, to meet difficulties which we are only just beginning to appreciate and to analyze.

I say to you, therefore, that the young people of the United States -- young Democrats and all the others -- have another magnificent opportunity to support a government of proven liberal action rather than to switch over and take a long chance with a Party historically founded on conservatism no matter what the glitter of their studied generalities trumpeted forth in an election year.

Young people, and all of us for that matter, know what sticky fly paper looks like. We will be most careful to keep our feet and our heads away from the fly paper, all this coming Summer and Fall, because we are possessed of good old-fashioned average American common sense.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

Delivered from the South Portico of the White House,
To the Delegates Attending the National Institute of Government,
Conducted by the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee,
May 3, 1940, 5.00 P. M.

I think I can say to you, "MY FELLOW WORKERS IN THE VINEYARD
OF KNOWLEDGE:"

I think it was about two months ago that I was told (that) there would be a meeting of women interested in or affiliated with the Democratic Party, with the objective of studying and discussing the processes and practices of our form of government. At that time it was expected that there would be not more than (one) a hundred of them (laughter) who would come to Washington and I suggested that they come to my Executive Office yonder in order that I might shake their hands individually and have a little informal chat (with them).

Well, about three weeks ago my wife told me that the enthusiasm was so great that five or six hundred (laughter) might come and so we shifted the party to the East Room (in the White House).

(By) But ten days ago -- less than that, about a week ago, when I got back from Warm Springs -- this little (the) gathering had grown into a pilgrimage, (laughter) with the result that if you tried, the three or four thousand (of you) who have attended this conference could not all get into the White House at the same time, and if I were to start shaking hands with you (now) you would still be passing in line long after dark.

This amazing and splendid outpouring does my heart good because it proves, first of all, that there is tremendous enthusiasm for a continuation of liberal democratic government in the United

States, (applause) and also because it goes to show(s) an honest wish to gain further knowledge of government.

May I add to that the thought (which) that I have expressed on several previous occasions -- that while in the past seven years your government has put into practical effect more constructive legislation (for) in behalf of the average man, woman and child of the nation than in any similar time in our history, the greatest ultimate long-range gain of these seven years lies in the increased knowledge of what government is all about, the increased discussion of broad problems and the increased recognition that the people of (this) the United States (country) are entitled to a government which constantly thinks in terms of the people's needs. (Applause)

Yes, and in spite of some of the things that I read, I believe that we are coming, as a nation, to differentiate between fact and fiction. (Laughter) That in itself is a step in advance. We do not fall as easily as in older days for glittering generalities, for specious promises. We say in an election year to candidates for President and Vice President, and to "would-be" Senators and Representatives, we say, "Quit condemning each and every act of this Administration and tell us just how you would change the laws if you were in power." (Applause)

And we say to them, "You say you would balance the budget -- you who oppose present policies -- don't tell us that you would appoint some new committee or board to study and to make recommendations because the budget is an open book and every would-be candidate for office ought to know that book without having to refer it to some special committee or long-range narrow board. We say to them, "If you

(If it is to be balanced)
would balance your budget, obviously/you can do it in one of two ways
or by a combination of both ways. You can levy new taxes, or you can
cut appropriations. And if you choose the former, what kind of taxes
do you propose to levy? That is a fair question. If you propose to
cut expenditures, which ones will you cut and by what amount? And
that is an equally fair question. Will you, you candidates, in these
critical days lop off a billion dollars from our national defense?
Will you in these critical days lop off a billion dollars for the care
of the needy unemployed? Will you curtail expenditures for old age
pensions or unemployment insurance? Will you abolish the Securities
and Exchange Commission and turn their functions over to the Stock
Exchange? Will you end the Civilian Conservation Corps and the
National Youth Administration? Will you destroy, by withdrawing ap-
propriations, the Soil Conservation and tree planting program of (the)
this Government?"

I think all of us (I) recognize the horrid dilemma that
questions of (this) that kind are going to put certain types of candi-
dates into in the coming six months. (Applause)

Whoever the nominees of the two major parties are, I firmly
believe that the real question, the honest question, the fundamental
question on election day next November is going to be something like
this: "Do you, the people, the voters of this country, do you wish
to employ in the next four years for your bus line chauffeurs who
wrecked the previous bus line by driving the old buses into the ditch
or by going to sleep at the wheel (laughter - applause) -- or are you
going to continue the present policy of the present type of bus line
by employing active, wide-awake chauffeurs who are inspired with the

thought that their duty is to be (polite) considerate to the passengers -- not to run off the road, not to go to sleep at the wheel -- and see to it that (they) the passengers reach their destination in comfort and complete safety.

And so, knowing many of you personally and knowing much about the splendid work you have been doing, I am confident that your common sense, your enthusiasm and your deep understanding of the problems of the day (will) are going to go far to keep the American people on the right road in this Year of Grace 1940. (Applause)

Now, come in and visit.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
In connection with the Eighth American Scientific Congress
Delivered from Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C.
May 10, 1940, 9.30 P. M., E. S. T.

MY FELLOW SERVANTS OF THE AMERICAS:

All (of) the men and women of this Pan American Scientific Congress have come here tonight, I think, with heavy hearts. During the past few years (we) you and I have seen event follow event, each and every one of them a shock, a shock to our hopes for the peaceful development of modern civilization as we know it. And this very day, the tenth of May 1940, this very day three more independent nations have been cruelly invaded by force of arms.

In some kinds of human affairs the mind of man (grows) becomes accustomed to unusual actions if (they are oft) those actions are often repeated. But that is not so in the world happenings of today -- and I am proud that it is not so. I am glad that we Americans of the three Americas are shocked (and), that we are angered by the tragic news that has come to us from Belgium and The Netherlands and Luxemburg. (Applause)

The overwhelmingly greater part of the population of the world abhors conquest and war and bloodshed -- it prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow threat on (so) very many occasions and in (so) very many places during these later years. We have come, therefore, to the reluctant

conclusion that a continuance of these processes of arms presents a definite challenge to the (continuation) continuance of the type of civilization to which all of us (in the three Americas) have been accustomed for so many generations.

I use this American -- Pan American Scientific Congress as (one of) an illustration, and I could use many similar illustrations. It is no accident that this meeting takes place in the New World. In fact, this Hemisphere is now almost the only part of the earth in which such a gathering can take place. Elsewhere war or politics in its worst sense has compelled teachers and scholars to leave their great callings and to become the agents of destruction.

We, and most of the people in the world, believe still in a civilization of construction and not of destruction. (Applause) We, and most of the people in the world, still believe that men and women have an inherent right to hew out the patterns of their own individual lives, just so long as they as individuals do not harm their fellow beings. We call this thought, this ideal, by many terms which are synonymous (terms) -- we call it individual liberty, we call it civil liberty and, I think, best of all, we call it demo-cracy.

Until now, up til these days, we permit ourselves by common consent to search for truth, to teach the truth as we see it -- and by learning a little here and a little there, and by teaching a little here and a little there to allow the

normal processes of truth to keep growing, keep growing for the well-being of our fellow men. In our search and in our teachings we are a part of a great adventure -- an exciting adventure -- an adventure (which) that gives to us a larger satisfaction, I think even a larger satisfaction than (did) our forefathers had when they were in the midst of the adventure of settling the Americas (give to our Founding Fathers) from the Old World. We feel that we are building human progress by conquering disease and poverty and discomfort, and by improving science and culture, removing one by one the many (cruelty) cruelties, (the crudity) and crudities and (the barbarism) barbarities of less civilized eras.

In contrast to that, to that rather simple, rather fine picture of our ideals -- in contrast, in other parts of the world, teachers and scholars are not permitted to search for truth lest the truth when made known might not suit the designs of their masters. Too often they are not allowed to teach the truth as they see it, (for) because truth might make men free. (Applause) Yes, they become objects of suspicion if they speak openly, if they show an interest in new truth, for their (very) tongues and minds are supposed to be mobilized for other ends.

This has not happened in the New World. God willing, it shall not happen in the New World. (Applause)

At the Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires, and again at Lima, we discussed a dim and unpleasant possi-

bility. We feared that other Continents might become so involved in war(s), wars brought on by the school of destruction -- not construction -- that the Americas might have to become the guardians of Western culture, the protector of Christian civilization.

And in those days, not so long ago, it was merely a fear. Today the fear has become a fact.

The inheritance which we had hoped to share with every nation (in) of the world is, for the moment, left largely in our keeping; and it is our compelling duty to guard and enrich that legacy, to preserve it for a world which must be born, reborn from the ashes of the present disaster.

Today we know, we admit, that until recent weeks too many citizens of (the) our American Republics believed themselves wholly safe -- physically, and economically and socially safe -- safe from the impact of the attacks on civilization which are in progress elsewhere. And perhaps this mistaken idea was based on (the) a false teaching of geography -- the thought that a distance of several thousand miles from a war-torn Europe to a peaceful America, that that distance in itself gave to us some form of mystic immunity (which) that could never be violated.

And yet, in speaking in terms of -- what shall I say? -- time-tables, speaking in terms of the moving of men and guns and planes and bombs, every single acre -- every hectare -- (of) in all the Americas from the Arctic to the

Antarctic, every one of them, is closer to the home(s) of modern conquerors, closer to (and) the scenes of the attacks in Europe than was ever the case in (historic) those episodes of history that we read about, the efforts to dominate the whole world by conquest in (by-gone) centuries gone by. From the point of view of conquest(s), it is a shorter distance from the center of Europe to Santiago de Chile than it was for the chariots of Alexander the Great to roll from Macedonia to Persia. In modern terms it is a shorter distance from Europe to San Francisco, California than it was for the ships and the legions of Julius Caesar to move from Rome to Spain or Rome to Britain. And today it is four or five hours of travel from the Continent of Africa to the Continent of (South) America, where it was four or five weeks for the armies of Napoleon to (move) march from Paris to Rome or Paris to Poland.

You who are scientists may (be) have been told that you are in part responsible for the debacle of today because of the processes of invention, invention for the annihilation of time and of space, but I assure you that it is not the scientists of the world who are responsible, because the objectives which you have (had have) looked to, all of those objectives have been headed toward closer and more peaceful relations between all nations through the spirit of cooperation and the interchange of knowledge. What has come about has been caused solely by those who would use, and are using,

your inventions (of peace in a wholly), the progress that you have made along lines of peace but using them in an entirely different cause -- those people who seek to dominate hundreds of millions of people in vast continental areas -- those who, if they are successful in that aim will, we (must now admit) know down in our hearts, enlarge their wild dream to encompass every human being and every mile of the earth's surface.

The great achievements of science, yes and (even) of art, can be used in one way or another to destroy as well as to create; they are only instruments by which men try to do the things that they most want to do. If death is desired, science can do that. If a full, a rich, a useful life is sought, science can do that also. Happily for us that question (is) has been solved -- for in the New World we live for each other and in the service of a Christian faith.

Is this solution -- our solution -- is it permanent or safe if it is solved just for us alone? That (it) seems to me (is) to be the most immediate issue that the Americas face. Can we continue our peaceful construction if all the other Continents in all the world embrace by preference or by compulsion a wholly different principle of life? No, I think not.

Surely it is time for our Republics to spread that problem before us in the cold light of day, to analyze it, to ask questions, to (demand) call for answers, to use every knowledge, every science that we possess, to apply common sense,

and (especially) above all to act with unanimity and single-ness of purpose. (Prolonged applause)

I am a pacifist. You, my fellow citizens of twenty-one American Republics, you are pacifists too.

But I believe that by overwhelming majorities in all the Americas you and I, in the long run and if it be necessary, you and I will act together to protect (and), to defend by every means at our command -- to protect and to defend our science, our culture, our American freedom and our civilization. (Applause)

As delivered to the press.

Charlottesville, Va.,
June 10th, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL

HOLD FOR RELEASE

CONFIDENTIAL

The following address by the President, delivered at the graduation exercises of the University of Virginia, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 6.15 P.M., E.S.T., today. The terms of this release apply also to radio commentators.

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY,
Secretary to the President.

* * * * *

Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the Republic a different kind of question presents itself -- a question which asks, not about the future of an individual or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the War Between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: "What is to become of the country we know."

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before. They ask, not only what the future holds for this Republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of government, - under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of free franchise, the ideal of peace through justice is a decadent ideal. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force - force directed by self-chosen leaders - is the new and vigorous system which will overrun the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in country after country where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable, therefore, that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today in stark reality some of the consequences of the machine age.

Where control of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, untold benefits have accrued to mankind. For mankind was then the master; the machine was the servant.

But, in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic sanctions. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant but the victim. Such mastery abandons with deliberate contempt all of the moral values to which even this young continent for more than three hundred years has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no concept of the way of life or the way of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly; and we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena -- an arena which may become so narrowed that only the Americas would retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare of a people without freedom, a people lodged in prison, handcuffed, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, un pitying masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how now we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing of ourselves in the midst of it.

Let us not hesitate -- all of us -- to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation, and this applies to all the other American nations, are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world -- and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lie with those nations which are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

The people and Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with sympathy and response on the part of the Government and the people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of the hostilities in the region of the Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the extension of the war might eventually become.

Again upon a subsequent occasion, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions between the powers most specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such event could not and would not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy would refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war as a belligerent.

Unfortunately, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to accept the procedure suggested.

The efforts of this Government have been directed to doing what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my communications to Signor Mussolini to express the concern of the Government of the United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the region of the Mediterranean would inevitably result in great prejudice to the ways of life and government and to the trade and commerce of all of the American Republics.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its promises to Germany. In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations; for the lives of the peoples of those nations which are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and has evidenced its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiations for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

On this tenth day of June 1940, in this University founded by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

In our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses: we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation and, at the same time, we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and signals call for speed -- full speed ahead.

It is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in recent months the principal question has been greatly simplified. Once more the future of the nation and of the American people is at stake.

We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our own borders. We still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

But that is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds swiftly and into it will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman to preserve our heritage in days of peril.

I call for effort, courage, sacrifice, devotion. Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible.

And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.

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FOR THE PRESS

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 14, 1940

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
AT THE 4-H CAMP, POTOMAC PARK.

You know, this is not my first visit to 4-H Camps. I have visited them in almost every part of the country.

I want to repeat to you what our Ambassador to Mexico, Josephus Daniels, just said to me. He said, "You know, there are some countries in the world -- without mentioning any names -- that are organizing young people, young men and young women, for all kinds of work under government regimentation. We, in this country, are carrying on a great deal of this work without government regimentation."

That is why this organization and other young people's organizations that are run under the principles of self-government instead of regimentation are doing such a wonderful job for the United States. And I believe that this 4-H Club work all over the country, in every county that I know anything about, is one of the most valuable contributions that we have to the future of the Nation.

That is why I accept the invitation to come again.

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EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESSES
On the Occasion of the Passing of Title to
The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, N. Y., July 4, 1940

JOHN McSHAIN:

Mr. Walker, I am delighted to inform you that the work on the new Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been completed. The President, the architect and the supervising engineer have all informed us that they are well pleased with the construction and not only with the workmanship in the building but also with the mechanic's job.

I am happy to say that the cooperation that we have received has been splendid and today I am presenting you with the key to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

* * * * *

HONORABLE FRANK C. WALKER:

Mr. President and friends: It is interesting in this world of spiritual agony and mental anguish and real suffering that we are taking part, under the guidance of our President, in an affair, simple in character, on this, our anniversary of independence. I think and hope that it is an omen of good for all of the world.

May I say a word to you, Mr. McShain, of appreciation to you and to Mr. Simon and to those who have been so helpful in doing this fine job. On behalf of the Library, I want you to know that we are most appreciative.

I want to say a word of thanks to the 25,000 who have been

so generous in making this institution possible, and to say a word of thanks to the President, who has made it possible that we shall have this fine, cultural exhibit.

Dr. Connor, I ask you, as National Archivist, to accept this fine structure as a gift from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., to the United States of America. We all know how well and capably you have done your work heretofore and how well you will carry on with this institution.

* * * * *

DR. R.D.W. CONNOR, ARCHIVIST:

Mr. President and Mr. Walker: I accept this key as a symbol of the responsibility which has been placed upon me in having charge of this magnificent gift which the President has made to the people of the United States.

Mr. President, I have the key and I am ready now to unlock the doors of this Library to receive the material which you have so generously donated to the United States Government.

I am sure that we shall all be pleased to have a word or two from you about that material and your plans for transferring it to the Library.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT:

Dr. Connor, this is, of course, a very happy day for me.

To see this wonderful building going up during the past year, to see it completed, means that I have got to get very busy in

sending certain collections to the building. You will be glad to know that there are thirty-two cases of books already packed, also a number of cases of prints, and next week I hope that my papers as Governor of New York will come down from Albany.

People will realize that it will take some time to install these exhibits for the public and it is my hope that you and your assistants will have the exhibit ready some time next spring so that we can open the building for the inspection and the use of the public of the United States.

I want to express just one word of thanks to Mr. Simon, the architect, to Mr. McShain, the contractor, and to all the workmen who put up the building. The building has been well and truly constructed and I hope that it will last for many generations.

INFORMAL, IMPROMPTU REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
To a Group of Approximately Sixty-five AAA Committeemen
Executive Offices of the White House, Washington, D.C.
July 12, 1940, 11.30 A.M.

I am very glad to see you. I have heard a lot about your work from Henry Wallace.

As you know, we are at the present time participating in a preparedness program and your work is a very important part of that program. Most people who read the newspapers and listen over the radio have a tendency to define preparedness as the making of guns and planes. Agriculture is just exactly as much an essential of preparedness as the making of guns and planes.

There were one or two things that I recall from back in the war days. In those days we made a lot of mistakes because we did not realize the fact that every part of American life is an essential part of preparedness. We caused a good many billion dollars worth of losses in this country back in 1917 and 1918 by not understanding that fact. For example, conservation as we knew it in those days, went by the board; we plowed up land that should not have been plowed up and we wasted our resources, and we realize now that it is going to take us a long time in a great many parts of the country to repair the losses caused by the first war years. That is why we have been trying to make people realize that in a critical time like this we have to think of the country as a whole and one of the biggest parts of that whole is agriculture.

The reason for this program we have got on preparedness is that we believe that the best road to peace in this Hemisphere is through preparedness. We have to have it. And, as far as I can see, the country is

working awfully well together on it, going extraordinarily well, without fuss and feathers.

I think that maintenance of the general agricultural policy is going to be about the best thing we can do. Of course that means that it has to have the support, as it has had support in the past, from the counties of the United States. That is why you people are so very important in this picture because it is up to you to keep the understanding, to spread the information of what we are driving at. Nobody says that the program proposed is perfect but, at least, it is a lot better than having no program at all, as I have said so often.

When I first went to Albany in 1928 I was told that you could not get an agricultural program for the State because no two farmers could ever agree, that it would be an impossible thing to get a program that would be acceptable to every farmer and which they could agree on. As you know, we started in down here and, taking it by and large, without it having anything to do with party politics, we found that the farmers can agree and that, with the right of self-government, which is a darned good thing, we have been able to carry out all our plans.

That has been possible only to a general understanding of those plans and that understanding of what it is all about isn't due to any fire-side chats of mine or any pamphlets that come out of the Department of Agriculture or any talks by Henry Wallace. The primary and principal factor in this whole thing is you people representing the counties. In the last analysis, it is you people, and that is why you are so terribly important, not only to the economy of peacetime, but also to the economy of preparedness time. That is why I am always glad to have you come down here and talk things over among yourselves and go back home to keep on pushing for

the unity of agriculture that we have started -- that we have got started towards a permanent national policy.

We have got a lot to learn; after all, much of what we have done has been experimentation but, on the whole, I think the thing is working.

On the question of food supply, of course we have got to have a wholly adequate food supply for the whole of this Nation. No human being can be a prophet of what is going to happen in the next few years in regard to our export surplus but we do know that the rest of the world is going to need a great deal of our surplus of every kind of agricultural product. It is pretty difficult to do business with the rest of the world because it is running on an entirely different principle than the way we run our country. We cannot tell where to proceed on that. In the meantime, we have to retain conservation and try to have stability of prices. We haven't got that stability yet but we certainly have a floor and can maintain that floor and go up a little higher toward the ceiling. Those really are the objectives of what we are doing.

You know, we are going to hand down to our children in this country, I think, better soil conditions than we inherited ourselves. Soil conditions are improving, getting better all the time. It is a grand program.

It is good to see you all and I wish I could attend some of the meetings myself.

THE AUDIENCE: Thank you, Mr. President. Goodbye.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE, TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL
CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, JULY 19, 1940, 12:25 A. M.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION - MY FRIENDS:

It is very late tonight but I have felt that you would rather that I speak to you now than wait until tomorrow.

It is with a very full heart that I speak tonight. I must confess that I do so with mixed feelings -- because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal desire for retirement on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are self-appointed commentators and interpreters who will seek to misinterpret or question motives, I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and I must trust to the good faith and common sense of the American people to accept my own good faith -- and to do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second time as President, it was my firm intention to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, which would normally entitle any man to the relaxation that comes from honorable retirement.

During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all but the blind or the partisan that a great war in Europe had become not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity deeply affect the future of this nation.

When the conflict first broke out last September, it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply, at an early date, that under no conditions would I accept reelection. This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was understood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public duty. As President of the United States, it was my clear duty, with the aid of the Congress, to preserve our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, to keep our domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions, and to sustain the policy of the Good Neighbor.

It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty nation in our effort to prevent the spread of war, and to sustain by all legal means, those governments threatened by other governments which had rejected the principles of democracy.

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded and adjusted to meet new forms of warfare. American citizens and their welfare had to be safeguarded in many foreign zones of danger. National unity in the United States became a crying essential in the face of the development of unbelievable types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desires were wholly gone.

And so, thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national Convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of this Convention.

Like any other man, I am complimented by the honor you have done me. But I know you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The real decision to be made in these circumstances is not the acceptance of a nomination, but rather an ultimate willingness to serve if chosen by the electorate of the United States. Many considerations enter into this decision.

During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, we in the United States have been taking steps to implement the total defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out this program I have drafted into the service of the nation many men and women, taking them away from important private affairs, calling them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their own work, and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

I, as the head of their Government, have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came -- they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one exception, has come to the nation's Capital to serve the nation.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to what might be called the top of their professions or industries through their proven skill and experience.

But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on man power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally insufficient for adequate national defense, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly insufficient unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for non-combat services.

Because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, most right thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and fair today as it was in 1917 and 1918.

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. It is neither just nor efficient to permit that task to fall upon any one section or any one group. For every section and every group depend for their existence upon the survival of the nation as a whole.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to call on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve and, at the same time, decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity, if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

In times like these -- in times of great tension, of great crisis -- the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society that we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one longer doubts -- which no one is longer able to ignore.

It is not an ordinary war. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery -- to reduce them to slavery in the interest of a dictatorship which has already shown the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

That is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us, each and every one of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain, the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom -- a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful.

Like most men of my age, I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction, a life of that kind to begin in January, 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives have been in a sense repealed by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

These my friends are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service.

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say to you, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

To you, the delegates to this Convention, I express my gratitude for the selection of Henry Wallace for the high office of Vice President of the United States. His first hand knowledge of the problems of government in every sphere of life and in every single part of the nation -- and indeed of the whole world -- qualifies him without reservation. His practical idealism will be of great service to me individually and to the nation as a whole.

And to the Chairman of the National Committee, the Postmaster General of the United States -- my old friend Jim Farley -- I send, as I have often before and will many times again, my most affectionate greetings. All of us are sure that he will continue to give all the leadership and support that he possibly can to the cause of American democracy.

In some respects, as I think my good wife suggested an hour or so ago -- in some respects the next few months will be different, different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

Most of you know how important it is that the President of the United States in these days remain close to the seat of government. Since last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our great national projects from the Alleghenies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the White House itself or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even Europe and Asia by direct telephone -- where, if need be, I can be back at my desk in the space of a very few hours. And in addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery will require me to spend vastly more time in conference with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the added task which the present crisis has imposed also upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for constant cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad indeed now to pay tribute.

I do expect, of course, during the coming months to make my usual periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences and radio talks. I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loathe to call the attention of the nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way. The exigencies of the day require, however, that I also talk with you about things which transcend any personality and go very deeply to the roots of American civilization.

Our lives have been based on those fundamental freedoms and liberties which we Americans have cherished for a century and a half. The establishment of them and the preservation of them in each succeeding generation have been accomplished through the processes of free elective government -- the democratic-republican form, based on the representative system and the coordination of the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches.

The task of safeguarding our institutions seems to me to be twofold. One must be accomplished, if it becomes necessary, by the armed defense forces of the nation. The other, by the united effort of the men and women of the country, to make our federal and state and local governments responsive to the growing requirements of modern democracy.

There have been occasions as we remember when reactions in the march of democracy have set in, and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop.

But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs. Such a time has been the past seven years. Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop, speedily and efficiently, the answers to aspirations which had come from every state and every family in the land.

We have sometimes called it social legislation; we have sometimes called it legislation to end the abuses of the past; we have sometimes called it legislation for human security; and we have sometimes called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many millions of our fellow citizens, who could not have the essentials of life or hope for an American standard of living.

Some of us have labeled it a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth in our land. It has included among its aims, to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries — lodged today in the hands of a relatively small group of individuals of very great financial power.

But all of these definitions and labels are essentially the expression of one consistent thought. They represent a constantly growing sense of human decency, human decency throughout our nation.

This sense of human decency is happily confined to no group or class. You find it in the humblest home. You find it among those who toil, and among the shop keepers and the farmers of the nation. You find it, to a growing degree, even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial and financial structure of the nation. Therefore, this urge of humanity can by no means be labeled a war of class against class. It is rather a war against poverty and suffering and ill-health and insecurity, a war in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

I do not believe for a moment, and I know that you do not believe either, that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalogue the milestones of seven years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the average of their personal lives has been made safer and sounder and happier than it has ever been before. I do not think they want the gains in these directions to be repealed or even to be placed in the charge of those who would give them mere lip-service with no heart service.

Yes, very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

And I have a sneaking suspicion, too, that voters will smile at charges of inefficiency against a government which has boldly met the enormous problems of banking, and finance and industry which the great efficient bankers and industrialists of the Republican Party left in such hopeless chaos in the famous year 1933.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency — progress along free lines — is gravely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which some call "new and efficient".

They are not new, my friends, they are only a relapse — a relapse into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency, and work, and a type of security.

But the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the dictator Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from Britain to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent out from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries and the slaves of the feudal system which dominated Europe a thousand years ago.

So did the people of those nations of Europe who received their kings and their government at the whim of the conquering Napoleon.

Whatever its new trappings and new slogans, tyranny is the oldest and most discredited rule known to history. And whenever tyranny has replaced a more human form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it enlists the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. Democracy can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by so ordering society as to assure to the masses of men and women reasonable security and hope for themselves and for their children.

We in our democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, will never willingly descend to any form of this so-called security of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other securities more vital to the dignity of man. It is our credo — unshakeable to the end — that we must live under the liberties that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

The Government of the United States for the past seven years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our government should pass to other hands next January — untried hands, inexperienced hands — we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere, including here.

I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recant the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, or begrudge the material aid that we have given to them. I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear.

I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeaser fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and war-mongering. But I felt it my duty, my simple, plain, unescapable duty, to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces let loose in the world.

So long as I am President, I will do all I can to insure that that foreign policy remain our foreign policy.

All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

We face one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward or falling back.

It is all of these rolled into one.

It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all that we have held dear — religion against godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force, moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

But it has been well said that a selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, and of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges, interpretations and claims. They will decide on the record — the record as it has been made — the record of things as they are.

The American people will sustain the progress of a representative democracy, asking the Divine Blessing as they face the future with courage and with faith.

CEREMONIES INCIDENTAL TO THE PRESENTATION TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE JEWELLED PIN COMMEMORATING HIS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF
MEMBERSHIP IN PARK LODGE NO. 203, I.O.O.F.,
ON THE FRONT PORCH OF THE PRESIDENT'S HOME
AT HYDE PARK, N.Y.,
July 23, 1940, 11.30 A.M.

(The President greeted each individual member of the delegation.)

MR. CECIL HALPIN: Mr. President and Brother: We, representatives of Park Lodge, have assembled here today to honor you as one of our members. We are proud and honored to have, as a member of our Lodge, so great and distinguished a citizen.

On behalf of the members of Park Lodge, I assure you that this day will be a memorable one in the history of our Lodge and it will be recorded as one of the greatest historical events in the history of our Lodge.

We are here to bear witness that you have been ever faithful to the principles of our Order, that you have given your heart to the care of the sick and disabled and have done all in your power to help the widow and orphan.

As Noble Grand of Park Lodge, and on behalf of its members, I have the honor and pleasure of presenting to you this jewel as a token of our regard and esteem. (Applause)

Let it be to you, Brother Roosevelt, an ever present reminder of the joys you have given, of the personal friendships you have won and of the good deeds which you have done.

On behalf of Park Lodge No. 203 of Hyde Park, New York, I extend to you our sincere good wishes and congratulations.

THE PRESIDENT: This is most of the crowd I was sort of brought up with. There are a few youngsters.

You know, it is -- I can hardly realize it is more than twenty-five years. We have been trying to do this for over two years.

MR. HALPIN: It is twenty-seven and a half years.

THE PRESIDENT: Twenty-seven and a half years for a fact. And I will always remember that long flight of stairs which, however, we have all survived.

Then, there is another thing that I shall always remember and that is back -- it is a sort of personal thing -- back in 1921, when I got infantile paralysis up at Campobello, and got back here and went to the hospital in New York and then to the house in New York, and I came up in the spring of 1922. I had only been here for three days when there was a committee came down from Park Lodge and they asked if there was anything they could do. It was the sweetest thing that ever happened. That was back in 1922, and it is something that I will never forget. That was the action taken by the Lodge in sending down a committee to see if there was anything they could do to help me.

MR. HALPIN: We have a new District Deputy in Park Lodge now.

THE PRESIDENT: That is grand.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the Representatives of National Civic Organizations
who had been delegated to attend a Conference
called by Miss Harriet Elliott, member of the
Advisory Commission for the Council of National Defense,
to discuss Consumer Problems
Executive Offices of the White House,
August 2, 1940, 12 M.

THE PRESIDENT: It is awfully nice to see you. I wish I had time to sit down and discuss things with you.

When I heard that Miss Elliott was going to ask you to come here, representing a great many very important groups and organizations, I said to her that I would like to meet you, to see you before your meeting, and to give you a very brief and summarized picture of some of the problems that we have had to face.

I do not have to go into the dangers of the present international situation because I know you all realize them. I am minded of an occasion about a year and a couple of months ago when I had down the Foreign Relations Committee of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate and I made a statement which was promptly twisted out of all semblance to what I said. I said the existence of certain nations, their continued existence, -- and I mentioned Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark and the Balkan (Baltic) States, with Holland and Belgium and France -- their continued existence was a very important fact to the continued safety of the United States. They promptly tried to misquote that and alleged that I said that our frontier was on the Rhine, with the connotation that we would promptly send two or three million American boys to the line, which was, of course, merely a political effort on their part to misrepresent. But it was perfectly true that the continued

existence of these independent nations of Europe was a part of our defense, and as they have gradually disappeared, it has meant, unfortunately, that dictatorships and aggressions have come closer to us and nobody can tell what the mentality of Nazism and Fascism will ultimately mean to us.

Most people were very smug -- most Americans were awfully smug a year ago. They said, "We have three thousand miles of sea." Of course we have learned an awful lot since then, all of us, and we do know that three thousand miles of ocean here is only fourteen hundred miles a little lower down, off the coast of Brazil. And a good many people were startled when I said that planes from Mexico could cause a certain amount of damage in Omaha, St. Louis and Kansas City, and that probably that section of the Middle West would be more dangerous to live in, in case of attacks, than Dutchess County, N. Y. So we have been definitely preparing and, because of the war, people realize that it is not a case of partial defense, it is a case of total defense, and that means everybody in the country, they fit in somewhere and, unless you do the preparation beforehand of fitting them in, you cannot do it after war breaks out.

I said to the newspapermen this morning that there is one lesson people needed. You had an army of four million men started in 1917. We put them together with perfectly terrific effort on the part of the country, without a single attack on the United States during the thirteen and a half months while we were putting that army together. There wasn't a gun fired in the United States against us during that whole period. In other words, we were completely and fully protected for thirteen and a half months by the people who were waging war on the

other side. Now, that does not often happen. That was a very lucky fact and we did not put our armies into the action until the twenty-seventh day of May, 1918, although we had gone to war on the sixth day of April, 1917. Now, that does not happen. That was merely luck. Therefore we have got to think in terms of the defense of the country and we have got to prepare.

So, instead of going to the Congress this year and trying to get new legislation, we looked up the old statute of 1917 that allowed us to put together an Advisory Commission on defense. Well, when we came down to it, we tried to cover all of the elements of American life, because that is another way of saying total defense, and instead of putting in just one industrialist or financier at the head of this thing, we tried to gather all the component parts of American life that were essential to defense. And, if you will go down the list, you will know what I did. Mr. Knudsen went in there because he was a very great and very successful industrialist in turning out the finished articles. Then we had to think about the procurement of all of the raw materials and we put Mr. Stettinius into that place. Then we had to think about transportation and we put in Ralph Budd. But that did not cover all of American life. We had to remember a lot of other things and one of the important things was the relationship of this industrial program to agriculture. We put Chester Davis in there; he was head of the Farm Board. And then we had this question of preventing a spiral in prices -- in costs. Some of us will remember in 1917 the price that things went to, of raw materials, basic prices of wheat and corn and cotton and rubber, et cetera and so on. And as fast as our raw materials rose in price, then the

workers of the country, obviously, said, "The cost of living has gone up and I have got to have more money." Then, of course, we had to pay higher wages and when we paid higher wages, it put the cost of products higher. It was this "now you do, now you don't" sort of thing. So we put Leon Henderson on that. That was on the question of making the raw materials.

Then we got to thinking about the pocketbooks of people, in other words the consumer end, and I asked Miss Elliott to take that over. It is a terribly important job, to see that the people in this country pay fair prices for the things that they have to have, the necessities of life.

Well, that was the beginning of Miss Elliott, but then she started to cover a lot of other subjects. We had the problem of housing for these new plants and she and Sidney Hillman on the labor end have been working on the problem of housing so that when new plants were started there would be adequate places for the families of the workers to live in. That immediately brought up other things, such as education, and I remembered in the World War there was a lot of people from all around Connecticut and the Hudson River valley who went over to Bridgeport with their families. Bridgeport was a nice little city at that time, about fifty to sixty thousand people, with enough schools, but when they raised the population to 200,000, there weren't enough schools for those children to go to. The next thing that raised was the question of health -- there weren't enough hospitals or doctors for this new Bridgeport with four times the population it had before. You have several examples. So Miss Elliott has undertaken this new and additional work with Mr. Hillman and the other people on the Commission,

with the idea that we are going to protect every element in the community in this big defense program.

Now, there are certain other things that we, frankly, have not had time in the last few months to get to. I have quite a few cousins over in England, American girls who married Englishmen. Well, one question was how they and their children fit into the picture. Some of them went into practical nursing. They did not have time to become registered nurses, so they went into practical nursing. Some of them went into ambulance work. Some went into the air alarm system work, but all of these women in England were fitted into the national defense picture in their own communities. Now, we have not got to that yet but, as time goes on, of course the first thing to do is to order all kinds of planes and machines and ships, et cetera, and it is going to take a long time to get them delivered and, when they are delivered, we have to have organized man and woman power to see that the thing clicks, that they fit into the operating picture.

As I say, we have not got to that end of what we might call home defense, meaning community defense, yet. We are gradually working out that part of the program although it does seem as though there is a good deal of delay. I get a lot of letters from all over the country, men and women, chiefly women, saying, "Where do I fit in; I want to do something." Well, it is awfully hard to fit people in. We have been at this only two months, so if you will bear with Miss Elliott and myself a little longer, we will do something that is fairly practical and will give everybody a niche to fit into in practically every community in the United States.

Of course I think, personally, it is just grand of you to come

down here. I am appreciative of it and we are getting the finest kind of cooperation that I have ever seen in this country in time of peace. It is awfully easy in time of war to have everybody come forward and volunteer but it is a more difficult thing to get people to come forward and volunteer and work and give their time and labor in peacetime, just on the off chance that we may get attacked in the future.

It is fine to see you and I am very grateful to you.

Informal Address of the President,
Over Station WKIP, Poughkeepsie, New York,
Made from the Study of his home at Hyde Park, N.Y.,
August 19th, 1940, 6.30 P.M., E.D.S.T.

Friends of Station WKIP:

I gladly embrace this chance to say a few words, even though they are a bit late on my part, to welcome Station WKIP, Dutchess County's new and only radio station. I have been a little bit intrigued trying to find out what that word "KIP" means. Either it must be named after the old Rhinebeck family of Kips or it must be an abbreviation for the old county seat of Poughkeepsie.

The inauguration of this station last June constituted a very distinct step forward for the County and for the Mid-Hudson Valley. The new station, it seems to me, can play a very important part in our cultural life and in the life of this community generally. It is the only station on this side of the River between New York City and Albany. It is thus in a key position to unite our community life to the life of the Capital of the State and the metropolis of the State. It has been brought into being through the vision and foresight of such sterling citizens as John Mack and Jim Townsend and Dick Coon, whose efforts have been ably seconded by Dr. MacCracken of Vassar, John Grubb and Charles Mitchell, this half dozen representative citizens constituting the station's Board of Directors.

Furthermore, I welcome the station because it means that Dutchess County is determined to go forward with progress. We of the Mid-Hudson Valley have always been proud of our landmarks and monuments. We have always had good schools and academies and institutions of higher learning. I have been going through a lot of old books on New York and the Hudson River Valley dating back a hundred years and more, and even then every guide book of the River took special pride in our institutions of learning. And, mind you, that was long before Vassar College was ever heard of -- institutions in those days whose fame and influence had gone far. And the fame and influence of our present institutions of learning have gone as far even as the magic of radio.

In the field of communications this Hudson River of ours has seen the beginning of steam navigation, and the valley on the other side of the county, the Harlem, resounded to the puff of the locomotive when the railroad in America was still in its infancy. And we do not forget that the inventor of the telegraph, Samuel F. B. Morse, lived in Poughkeepsie and that we were one of the first communities in this section to get telephone communication with the outside world.

Today, to all that has gone before to enlarge and enrich and broaden our life is added this new radio station.

I like to think of this station as a cultural adjunct to the community that it serves on both sides of the River -- not merely as an instrumentality to make money but as a vehicle through which emphasis can be placed on the things that count, things that count most in elevating and ennobling the common life.

My earnest hope is that our new station will fulfill the high hopes of the men who have brought it into being and that through them we of the Valley shall have closer ties, better citizenship among all of us neighbors -- and I like to think of them as "good neighbors" -- in the Hudson River Valley.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE MEETING OF
THE ROOSEVELT HOME CLUB, HYDE PARK, AUGUST 31, 1940

MY NEIGHBORS:

If you were proceeding strictly according to the Hatch Act, I would not mention politics. But, of course, after being introduced by the new, the Acting Postmaster of Hyde Park, who, by his very presence here today as President of the Club is violating the Act, all I can say to you is that, honestly, there are exceptions to every law. We are not a political club in the last analysis. This is a gathering of a lot of neighbors in this and adjoining townships who come here every year to get acquainted again.

I wish I could, as John Mack has said, see more of you in the course of the year. And it should not be taken politically if I say I hope I will see more of you -- in time. But I cannot help feeling that there are two things that we can and we do think about every year in these gatherings. They are both things that have come to this country very largely in the last ten years. We have got to know each other, not just in the town of Hyde Park but all over the Nation. We have come to be interested in every part of the Nation and in what goes on in every other part of the Nation. We have become interested in our own geography. We have come to know something about floods and resources and all kinds of places that we never heard of before. And, in the same way, geographically I think we are coming very fast to knowing more about the rest of the world and to appreciate that what goes on in the rest of the world is bound to have an effect on all of us, on our own private lives and our own family lives and our own community lives.

I think it is a great lesson that has come to us, that we have learned. And, in the same way, we have begun in this process of getting to know each other better to understand more about what we used to call "politics" when we used it in the good sense of the term, not the old sense of the term because that wasn't a very good use of the word. We are more honest today in our politics than ever before.

I go back -- I am not so terribly old yet -- I go back to days in this County, in this State, when honesty was not the best policy. We can remember events in our own town, in our own County, in the lives of those of us who are older, that we are not very proud of. But there has come up a better day in the running of all kinds of government. I think that is true because I have been all over the country many times. I think it is true of the great majority of states and counties that the choice of our representatives to run our governments is a freer choice, a cleaner choice, and on the whole, a better choice, than it used to be in the old days.

When I use that word "politics" I am not speaking just of holding an office, I am thinking about the relationship of people who hold many kinds of offices, to the people in their country or their state or their city or their community. Do you know, for example, why and how I got interested in the problem of government in relation to old people? It was because -- and this was many, many years ago -- out here on Quaker Lane, there was a family of old people. One of them, one of the old gentlemen, had been the supervisor of this town, in, I think, 1873. In fact he had succeeded my father as supervisor of the town. I was away at the time, I did not hear about it until months after it had happened. They were very, very old. They had mortgaged their farm up to the hilt and beyond it. There had come a heavy winter and one day, when the postman went out there, he saw no tracks. He went in and found that one of those old people -- they were about eighty years old and I think there were three of them -- had gone out to the barn to milk the one cow that was left and he had been frozen to death. They took the other two people, the town did -- they were perfectly sane -- but they put one of them into the Hudson River State Hospital for the insane and they put the old lady into some old ladies home. The home that they had lived in was gone and they were dependent solely on the care of the State. They were put in institutions; they could not live and die where they had been born.

Well, that wasn't so long ago. It was fifteen or twenty years ago that that family, a fine, splendid Dutchess County family, that had been here for I don't know how many generations, that had held positions of honor and trust -- and that was their end. So I got to thinking about old people, about the security of families in their old age.

That is why we began to plan and we are getting somewhere with it today, between the state and the federal government. That is what we call -- what I call -- the security of American citizenship. It applies tremendously to old people and it also applies tremendously, although we haven't found the solution yet, to the young people of the Nation. There isn't any panacea for that because, as we all know, we go through what we call "cycles", up changes and down changes, times when everybody is at work and other times when very few people are at work. And we are providing for that; we have made a beginning with unemployment insurance.

I am using understatement. You all know what I mean because most of us back home talk in terms of understatement. This year, for example, if you asked almost anybody in the audience, including myself, about the crops of the country we would say, "well, they are fair to middlin'", which, on the whole, means "pretty good". When we are talking about the problems of schools or of health, we say, "well, it isn't so bad", meaning "it is pretty good." When we ask, "Is there much unemployment?" and the answer is, "well, we ain't worried about it much," it means that almost everybody has got something to do. That is why, taking it by and large, as far as the comforts, the work of the United States as a whole goes, things are "fair to middlin'" which means, from our point of view, that they are very good.

In all this work that has been referred to on defence, there is one point that should be made very, very clear and that is defense, of course, against enemies from the outside and also defense within our own borders, our own communities, against things that can happen to take away from us what we have accomplished in these later years. That is why I think it is pretty good policy to understate things in a political year.

Most people understand what that means. We are not going to go back, I hope, in the next few years on what we have accomplished. Certainly this community -- and we are a pretty good cross-section of thousands of communities in 3200 counties in 48 states -- we are getting on awfully well. On the whole, awfully well when I think of the changes that have come about -- physical changes, good roads, grand schools -- they are perfectly splendid and I am proud of them. We have people coming from all over the United States to see our new school buildings. We are giving our children good education and most people have got jobs. As I say, this cross-section of America that we live in and represent is a very hopeful sign just so long as we do not let it slide backwards. That is going to be the big problem but it is a very simple problem and I think there is a pretty good prospect of having the good work go on.

I was going to say something more about those school buildings, about the fact that a famous American came back from the other side the other day. He hadn't been here for several years and I drove him past the new high school. He said, "That is the finest example of architecture for a public building that I have seen put up in this country in the last twenty years." They are putting supplements in magazines to tell about what is being done in the way of buildings in Dutchess County. We are reverting, perhaps, to what you might call an idiosyncrasy of my own that we should revert, in building buildings, to the old fieldstone that the original settlers used. I am sticking in fieldstone wherever I get a chance. And I am fairly practical on that because it does not cost any more than brick and it lasts a whole lot longer than wood.

And the old buildings. I often think of them. I think it was 1871 that the old brick building in the Village of Hyde Park was built by my father when he was President of the Trustees of the School District. Well, for our type of life that building has lasted 70 years, which is a pretty honorable length of life for a building, even for a schoolhouse. And we think of the small schools around here, the one-room schools, as we used to call them -- I don't think any of them were red -- and they have performed a splendid service in their long and honorable lives. We shed a tear, perhaps, when the old Eel Pot school goes or something up in Pallkill, or one of the other old districts of the town, but those buildings have lived to an honorable old age and I honestly believe that the children that have been trained in them in the past, many of us, many of you, the children of our generation, are going to be equalled and surpassed by the children of the next generation.

I am awfully glad to get this chance to see you and to talk with you a little informally as I have today. I wish old Spratty would make a speech. I wish John Mack would make another speech. I wish Eddie Conger, who, by the way, is the first Federal Judge we have had in Dutchess County in, I don't know how long -- perhaps ever -- would make a speech.

We have a couple of candidates here who may get elected to Congress, one from this district and one from the district across the River.

I am going to tell you a secret. I am afraid these people down here were told this morning or were sent word that there wouldn't be any announcement from this meeting, absolutely none, no politics in it. Well, there isn't any politics but there is something I can tell you. It is a perfectly tremendous secret which will probably be on the wires in ten minutes.

I have here, sitting almost directly back of me, the successor of a very splendid old friend of mine, the successor of Jim Farley, the successor in the Postmaster Generalship in place of Jim who has made such a splendid record in that office. Jim now, with a family to support, finds it necessary -- as some of the rest of us may have to do -- to go back to private life. It has been on the fire for a few weeks and now it is all cooked and on Tuesday, or possibly Wednesday next, the name of another old friend of ours who has been here many times and who was responsible for the building of the new Library over on the Post Road, who got money for it from all over the United States, will be sent to the Senate. He came from Montana and lived in New York and then, because of business interests, became a citizen of Pennsylvania, which is a pretty good record. In other words, he knows the country and is going to know a lot about the mails and communications of the country from now on -- and that is my old friend, who has been a friend for a great many years, Frank Walker. Get up, Frank.

It has been fine to be with you. Thank the Lord that rain held off. I don't know why it did, whether it was John Mack who prayed or whether it was the Governor who prayed or whether it was just old fashioned Roosevelt luck.

Just one word in closing: I think it has been four or five years since the Governor of our own State of New York has been to this gathering. Herbert Lehman is here today and I hope he will come many times again.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered at the Chickamauga Dam Celebration
Atop Chickamauga Dam near Chattanooga, Tennessee
Monday, September 2nd, 1940, 10.00 A.M.

GOVERNOR COOPER, GOVERNOR RIVERS, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CHAIRMAN MORGAN AND MEMBERS OF THE TENNESSEE
VALLEY AUTHORITY, AND YOU, THE GOOD PEOPLE OF TENNESSEE AND OF THE
OTHER SIX STATES THAT ABUT THIS GREAT VALLEY:

I am glad to come here today, especially because I took
part in the laying of the cornerstone of this dam some years ago.

When I first passed this place, after my election but before
my Inauguration as President, there flowed here, as most of us remember,
a vagrant stream, a stream sometimes shallow and useless, sometimes
turbulent and in flood, always dark with the soil it had washed from
the eroding hills. This Chickamauga Dam, the sixth in the series of
mammoth structures built by the Tennessee Valley Authority for the
people of the United States, is helping to give to all of us human
control of the watershed of the Tennessee River in order that it may
serve in full the purposes of (men) mankind.

(The) This chain of man-made inland seas may well be named
"The Great Lakes of the South." Through them we are celebrating the
opening of a new artery of commerce, of new opportunities for recrea-
tion, -- I see all these new power boats right here, almost at my feet
as I speak -- we are celebrating relief from the desolation of floods,
(and) we are celebrating new low-cost energy which has begun to flow
to the homes and farms and industries in seven American states.

This national holiday -- September second, Labor Day -- has

been appropriately selected, because in the miracle that man has wrought, labor has played a vital role. In all of these seven years, in heat and in cold, men have drilled and blasted through solid rock, they have poured ton after ton of concrete and they have moved mountains of earth. They have worked with the strength of their hands, and they have operated complicated machinery with every form of modern skill. Never once in these years, never once in this the biggest consolidated construction job ever undertaken directly by the national Government, never has there been a substantial interruption to the continuance of your labors. This Dam, all the dams built in this short space of years, stand as a monument to (a) the productive partnership between management and labor, between citizens of all kinds working together in the public weal. Collective bargaining and efficiency have proceeded hand in hand. It is noteworthy that the splendid new agreement between organized labor and the Tennessee Valley Authority begins with the words "The public interest in an undertaking such as the TVA (always being) is paramount....."

It is appropriate, therefore, that we recognize this signal achievement on the day, Labor Day, when the whole nation pays tribute to labor's contribution to the democracy (which) that we are now preparing to defend. To all of you, therefore, -- all of you who have contributed to make these structures possible throughout this beautiful Valley of the Tennessee -- to all of you I extend the Nation's thanks.

The only note of sorrow that can properly be sounded on a great day like this, perfect in its scenery, perfect in the crowd that has come here today, perfect in our weather, but the only note

of sorrow that can be sounded lies in the misplaced emphasis (which) that so many people have put on the objectives of the Government in building up this great Tennessee Valley project. It was at a Press Conference (which) that I held at Warm Springs, down in Southwest Georgia, away back in January, 1933, after (visiting) I had visited the Valley with that splendid fighting American, Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, (applause) it was way back there, more than seven years ago, that I put his vision and (mine) my vision in(to) words. For many years, in different parts of the Nation, I have been interested in what I had called, already in 1933, the problem of better land use, a problem (which) that necessarily had to include existing facts (of) relating to harmful land use.

In the (watershed) Valley of the Tennessee River, therefore, I had come to consider the facts of devastating floods (which) that had existed for many generations -- floods that washed away houses and roads and factories, floods that took great tolls of human lives -- floods (which) that threatened the very security of Chattanooga itself and of many other communities on this river, on the Ohio River and (on the) even down in the lower reaches of the Mississippi River.

I had studied the washing away of the wealth, the wealth of soil on the main stem of the river, on its many (main) mountain tributaries, and up in the creeks and hills in the higher valleys. I had seen water commerce impeded by shoals (and), by winding variable channels. I had understood the waste of potential hydroelectric energy.

Yes, I had seen forests denuded or burned -- but worst of all, ⁱⁿ I had seen the splendid people living/parts of (seven) several states fighting against nature instead of fighting with nature.

Being of a practical turn of mind -- some people say I am part Scotch and part Dutch and therefore ought to be a being with a practical turn of mind -- I asked for figures relating to losses and figures to show the cost of stopping (these) the losses.

My memory is that the engineers told me that from floods alone the average annual damage in the Tennessee Valley was about \$25,000,000. a year; that the top soil carried to the sea by annual floods averaged another loss of \$25,000,000.(worth) a year; that better farming and better forestry could produce at least \$25,000,000. a year more; and, finally, that a saving of \$25,000,000. could be made by providing for and insisting on cheaper electric rates and a wider distribution of power. (Applause) In other words, the complete development of the objectives of the (Tennessee Valley Authority) T.V.A. would save or, in other words, gain for the people of the watershed \$100,000,000. a year.

And, on the other side of the ledger -- the cost side -- we would have to figure -- I am going back to the figures of seven years ago that have proved pretty accurate -- we would have to figure on a total final investment of about \$500,000,000., including, of course, the taxes (and), the amortization on the amount spent through a series of years -- and including, incidentally, no watered stock. (Applause) (This) That total sum of dollars was to be spent (for) on three major benefits. The first related to the control of the water for better navigation, for the building of lakes, for the prevention of erosion (and), for the development of power. The second objective we had was the building back of soil fertility through research into phosphate fertilizers, the use of nitrate plant life and the diversification of

crops, and the reforestation of millions of acres of land. The third objective was to improve the social and the economic life of these citizens and, incidentally, improve it with their cooperation -- to plan with them for a greater diversification of human effort, to make a richer farm life, to add new industries to our towns and villages, to give employment, and to bring a larger return in cash (each) every single year, a larger return of cash to the average of our families.

Today (we see) you and I are seeing the progress that we have made, the progress that we are still making, and, incidentally, the progress that we propose to continue to make. We have come very far along (the) this particular road. In this Valley, as in the Nation, we do not propose to abandon the goal, the goal that is directly before our eyes, abandon it either by sitting down or by going back.

These (splendid) fine changes we see have not come by compulsion -- for thousands of farmers and thousands of townspeople have met together in the common effort. They have debated it and they discussed it. Participating in the processes of their Government -- State Government, local Government, Federal Government -- they have altered the looks of their towns and their counties. They have added fertilizer to (their) the soil. They have improved their industries. No farmer was forced to join this conservation movement. No workman was compelled to labor here under onerous conditions, or for less than a rightful wage. No citizen has lost a single one of these (human) liberties that we prize so highly in this democracy. And so (This) that is a demonstration, it is a demonstration of what a democracy at work can do, of what a people uniting in a war against

waste and insecurity can and propose to do.

There were, of course, and are those who maintain that the development of (this) an enterprise that lies wholly in this State, that the development of it is not a proper activity of Government. As for me, I glory in it as one of the great social and economic achievements of (our time) the United States.

Today, my friends, we are facing a time of peril unmatched in the history of the nations of all the world. And because we are undertaking the total defense of (our) this Nation of ours, the Tennessee Valley region has assumed, in addition to its own domestic betterment, its share of responsibility for national defense.

Already, and several years ahead of our carefully planned schedule, we are creating new plants which of necessity will use more power. I am glad, indeed, that in spite of partisan opposition, the Congress of the United States has overwhelmingly voted the necessary funds. And that money is now at work. (Applause)

New defense industries are more safe from attack in this region behind the mountains than if they were located on our more exposed borders. (It is) And, therefore, it is good for our safety to develop further and to use the natural resources and the man power of this region. In that development, let us always remember that we must and shall retain the great gains that have been made for human social security in recent years. We propose, indeed, not to retain them alone but to improve and extend them. Most assuredly we are determined neither to repeal them nor (to) weaken them. (Applause)

We understand too, we understand now what we did not understand in 1917 (and) -- 1918 -- that the building up of Army and Navy

equipment and the training of men to use it ought not to result in a waste of our natural resources, and at the same time ought not to break down the gains of labor or the maintenance of a living wage(s).

We are seeking the preparedness of America, not against, not against the threat of war or conquest alone, but in order that preparedness be built to assure American peace that rests on the well-being of the American people. (Applause)

(Let us) I, therefore, today, on this very happy occasion, dedicate this Dam and these lakes to the benefit of all the people, to the benefit of the prosperity that they have stimulated, the faith they have justified, the hope that they have inspired, the hearts that they encourage -- the total defense of the people of the United States of America. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered at Newfound Gap in connection with the
Dedication of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park
Monday, September 2, 1940, 4.00 P.M., C.S.T.

SECRETARY ICKES, GOVERNOR HOBY, GOVERNOR COOPER AND OUR NEIGHBOR,
GOVERNOR MAYBANK OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND MY FRIENDS FROM ALL THE
STATES:

I have listened with attention and great interest to the
thousands of varieties of plants and trees and fishes and animals
that Governor Cooper told us about, but he failed to mention the
hundreds of thousands of species of human animals that come to this
Park.

Here in the Great Smokies, we (meet today) have come to-
gether to dedicate these mountains, and streams, and forests, the
thousands of them, to the service of the millions of American people.
We are living under governments (which) that are proving their devo-
tion to National Parks. The Governors of North Carolina and of
Tennessee have greatly helped us, and the Secretary of the Interior
is so active that he has today ready for dedication (two more) a
number of other National Parks -- like Kings Canyon in California
and the Olympic National Park in the State of Washington, the Isle
Royale up in Michigan and, over here, the Great Cavern of Tennessee --
and soon, I hope, he will have another one for us to dedicate (a
third), the Big Bend Park away down in Texas, close to the Mexican
line.

Yes, there are trees, trees here that stood before our
forefathers ever came to this continent; there are brooks that still
run as clear as on the day the first pioneer cupped his hand and

drank from them. In this Park, we shall conserve these trees, the pine, the red-bud, the dogwood, the azalea, and the rhododendron, we shall conserve the trout and the thrush for the happiness of the American people.

The old frontier, that put the hard fibre in the American spirit and the long muscles on the American back, that old frontier lives and will live in these untamed mountains to give to the future generations a sense of the land from which their forefathers hewed their homes.

(The) That hewing was hard. The dangers were many. The rifle could never be far from the axe. The pioneers stood on their own feet, they shot their own game and they fought off their own enemies. In time of accident or misfortune, they helped each other, and in time of Indian attack, they stood by each other.

Today we no longer face Indians and hard and lonely struggles with nature -- (and) but also -- today we have grown soft in many ways.

It seems to me that if we are to survive, we cannot be soft in a world in which there are dangers that threaten Americans -- dangers far more deadly than were those that the frontiersmen had to face.

The earth, the earth has been so shrunk, so diminished by the airplane and the radio that Europe is closer to America today than was one side of these mountains to the other side when the pioneers toiled through the primeval forest. The arrow, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife have been replaced by the airplane, the bomb, the tank, and the machine gun. Their threat is as close to us today

as was the threat to the frontiersmen when hostile Indians were lurking on the other side of the gap.

Therefore, to meet the threat -- to ward off these dangers -- the Congress of the United States and the Chief Executive of the United States (and I) are establishing by law the obligation inherent in our citizenship to serve our forces for defense through training in many capacities. (Applause)

It is not in every case easy or pleasant to ask men of the Nation to leave their homes and women of the Nation to give their men to the service of the Nation. But the men and women of America have never held back even when it has meant personal sacrifice on their part if (it is) that sacrifice is for the common good.

We have come to realize the greatest attack that has ever been launched against freedom of the individual is nearer the Americas than ever before. To meet that attack we must prepare beforehand -- for the simple reason that preparing later may and probably would be too late.

We must prepare in a thousand ways. Men are not enough. They must have arms. They must learn how to use those arms. They must have skilled leaders -- who, in turn, must be trained. New bases must be established and I think will be established to enable our fleet to defend our shores. Men and women must be taught to create the supplies that we need. And we must counter, as Governor Hoey has so well said, the agents of (the) dictators within our (country) Nation. (Applause)

There is, moreover, another enemy at home. That enemy is the mean and petty spirit that mocks at ideals, sneers at sacrifice

and pretends that the American people can live by bread alone. If the spirit of God is not in us, and if we will not prepare to give all that we have and all that we are to preserve Christian civilization in our (own) land, we shall go to destruction. (Applause)

It is good and right that in all of these, that we should conserve these mountain heights, these mountain heights of the old frontier for the benefit of the American people. But in this hour we have to safeguard a greater thing: the right of the people of this country to live as free men. Our vital task of conservation is to preserve the freedom (which) that our forefathers won in this land, and the liberties (which) that were proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence and embodied in (our) the Constitution of the United States.

In these centuries of American civilization, greatly blessed by the bounties of nature, we succeeded in attaining liberty in Government and liberty of the person. In the process, in the light of past history, we realize now that we committed excesses which we are today seeking to atone for.

We used up, (or) we destroyed much of our natural heritage just because that heritage was so (bounteous) bountiful. We slashed our forests, we used our soils, we encouraged floods, we over-concentrated our wealth, we disregarded our unemployed -- all of this so greatly that we were brought rather suddenly to face the fact that unless we gave thought to the lives of our children and grandchildren, they would no longer be able to live and to improve (on) upon our American way of life. (Applause)

And so in these later years, we have tried sincerely and

honestly to look ahead to the future years. We are at last definitely engaged in the task of conserving the bounties of nature, thinking in the terms of the whole of nature. We are trying at least to attain employment for all who would work and can work, and to provide a greater assurance of security throughout the life of (for) the family.

From hard experience we know that (the) that process is a long one, but most of us realize that if we can continue our efforts without serious setbacks, the ideals of the American way of life can and will be attained by working everlastingly for the good of the whole and not for the good of any one privileged group.

And so, from within our own borders, liberty through democracy can, I believe, be preserved in future years -- if -- a great big "if" -- if we want to preserve it. (Applause)

But there is a second danger -- a danger from without. I hope, for example, that one hundred years from now the Great Smoky National Park will still belong in practice, as well as in theory, to the people of a free nation. (Applause) I hope it will not belong to them in theory alone and that in practice the ownership of this Park will not be in the hands of some strange kind of Government puppet subject to (an) some strange kind of an overseas overlord. I hope the use of it will not be confined to people who (coming) come hither on Government specified days and on Government directed tours. (Applause) I hope the trees will not be slaughtered by the axe in order that a Government may conduct wars of aggression against other nations. I hope that roads and paths and trails will still be built in the cause of the liberty of recreation, and not confined to the

ulterior purposes of a war machine controlled by an individual or by an oligarchy. (Applause)

That there is a danger from without is at last recognized by most of us Americans. That such a danger cannot longer be met with pitchforks and squirrel rifles (applause) or even (interrupted by applause) or even from the point of view of some of us who did something in the World War, with the training or the weapons of the war of 1917 and 1918, that is equally clear to most of us Americans.

It is not a change from the American way of life to advocate or legislate a greater and a speedier preparedness. It is a positive protection to the American way of life. (We) You and I know that in the process of preparing against danger we shall not have to abandon and we will not abandon the great social improvements that have come to the American people in these later years. (Applause) We need not swap the gain of better living for the gain of better defense. I propose (to) that we retain the one and (gain) get the other. (Applause)

But to conserve our liberties will not be easy. The task will require the united efforts of us all. And it will require sacrifices from us all.

The pioneers survived by fighting their own fight and by standing together as one man in the face of danger. If we, their descendants, are to meet the dangers that threaten us, we too must be ready to fight our own fight and stand together as one man. In hours of peril the frontiersmen, whatever their personal likes (and) or dislikes, whatever their personal differences of opinion, gathered together in absolute unity for defense. We, in this hour, must have

and will have absolute national unity for total defense.

What shall we be defending? The good earth of this land, our homes, our families -- yes, and far more. We shall be defending a way of life which has given more freedom to the soul and body of man than ever has been realized in the world before, a way of life that has let men scale whatever heights they could scale without hurting their fellows, a way of life that has let men hold up their heads and admit no master but God. (Applause)

That way of life is menaced. We can meet the threat. We can meet it (in) with the old frontier (way) spirit. We can forge our weapons, train ourselves to shoot, meet fire with fire, and with the courage and the unity of the frontiersmen.

It is our pride that in our country men are free to differ with each other and with their government, and to follow their own thoughts and express them. We believe that the only whole man is a free man. And we believe that in the face of danger, the old spirit of the frontiersmen (which) that is in our blood, will give us the courage and unity that we must have.

We need that spirit in this hour. We need a conviction, felt deep in us all, that there are no divisions among us. We are all members of the same body. We are all Americans. (Applause)

The winds that blow through the wide sky in these mountains -- the winds that sweep from Canada to Mexico, the winds that sweep from the Pacific to the Atlantic -- have always blown on free men. We are free today. If we join together now -- men and women and children -- (and) to face the common menace as a united people, we shall be free tomorrow. (Applause)

(Applause) And so, to the free people of America, I dedicate this Park.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
OVER THE RADIO,
Charleston, West Virginia,
September 3, 1940.

I am very glad to have this chance to say "How do you do?" to you good people of West Virginia. I have had a most interesting drive with Senator Neely and with the Governor.

In a way this is a sentimental journey for me because I have seen an old plant that was started by the Navy when I was Assistant Secretary in 1917, an armour plant which I am glad to say last summer we have put back into business. And we are also changing over the old shell plant to make more guns for the Navy and probably for the Army too. Since then we have come up past many other plants that are turning out munitions for the Government over a very wonderful new highway, new boulevard, that I was delighted to see.

And so I have come to the end of this sentimental journey and the idea that was started twenty-three years ago is now bearing full fruit.

* * * *

Mr. Tobin, members of the convention, I am in a sort of quandary tonight.

I don't know whether this is a political speech or not. I don't know because these days if in a certain period of the year you refer in any way to things that happened in the days of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln, or any other period in the past, including the past seven years, it's a great question as to whether you are talking American history or politics.

And so I throw myself upon your indulgence and the indulgence of the radio companies who would in the one case be paid and in the other case not be paid. And I throw myself on the indulgence of the American public. I don't know.

During these past weeks in several sections of the country within an overnight journey of Washington, where I have to stick pretty close, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers and submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern weapons of all types swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instructions in the tactics of warfare and the broader tactics of life today. Through all of it there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate, physical armed defense of the United States.

Tonight, in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of "labor force" I very definitely include in that those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in business and industry. I think that teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. And when union workers assemble with freedom and independence in a convention like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired; it is a symbol of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the greatest international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days, days when labor unions were considered almost un-American by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government, Federal or State, call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the un-American practice, still unfortunately followed in some sections of the land, of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out and destroy members of the union.

The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days over a long road, a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your organization is an outstanding example of the progress that has been made. By 1933, it seems almost like ancient history to me, your membership had dropped in that year to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, stronger in influence and stronger in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our whole history. Much of this progress has been due, I like to think, to the one thing that this Administration from the very beginning has insisted upon, the assurance to labor of the untrammelled right, right, not privilege, but right to organize. Yes, the right to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all time.

That great principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; but today I believe the majority of employers gladly accept it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share, or perhaps I should say a fairer share, for we haven't gone the length of the road yet, a fairer share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about the objective of an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used in almost every case for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, a foundation upon which we are trying to build protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

But you and I know that this progress of the last seven years has been mighty difficult. It has been beset by obstructions and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed a great many years ago, during the very beginnings of what has been a certain amount of varied experience dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor-employing State in the union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago -- when certain employers, certain politicians and certain newspapers, all of whom are now active in this campaign, in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new Social Security Act and to force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are labor's true friends, from those -- may I put it this way -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and against poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective we seek -- the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child that the resources and man power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That, I think, is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure and we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad -- that's a different story -- have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods, promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy, all of these have led, and I'm talking recent history, they have led to the same cruel disappointment.

For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one; we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old-age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner that will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation they love.

Yes, it's my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old-age pension that will provide adequate food, adequate clothing and adequate lodging to the end of the road and without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. And I look forward to a system coupled with that, a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and in happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- on the plea that an adequate national defense requires the repeal. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, as I did when I said way back on the twenty-sixth of May last:

"We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains that we have made in these past years. * * * There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, better housing, and help to the underprivileged."

Yes, our mighty national defense effort that we are engaged in today, all of us, against all present and potential threats, that effort cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors and guns and tanks and planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions who are still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for overtime payments for overtime work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times we all know that internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel -- it's a good word, old fashioned -- the occasional scoundrel has appeared in a position of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations that have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of a handful of selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, all trades, all professions alike, including the profession of the law, to which I belong.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your president, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your convention in which he said:

"* * * It is indeed pitiful and heartbreaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type, to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the international union."

Labor knows -- I don't have to tell labor -- labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government, your government, is determined to help labor unions clean their own house of those few persons who have tried to betray them.

In this great crisis in the past year, additional proof has come that organized labor, as well as other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, and I have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished president, have shared in formulating and administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A. F. of L., the C. I. O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating in this effort with me and with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and the Navy. That cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between all of these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the great forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and to train for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service that they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding and I take it almost for granted that they will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives -- not just the President all alone, but through the elected representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States -- the nation thus represented is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for an adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. And you know this is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use, as I prefer to call it, is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property, anywhere, which is necessary for the proper functioning of the United States.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured, as we all know, by private enterprise under private management. And we are continuing that process. It is only in the rare case, the isolated case, that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with the government in a fair way.

But if and when such a case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above government; and government must be empowered to deal adequately with any business that tries to rise above government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread forth near election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world today the best defense is the strongest preparedness, fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That's no longer a theory; it's a proven fact, proved within the past year.

I hate war, now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all that I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, and outside of my party as President of all the people, on the platform, the wording that was adopted in Chicago less than two months ago. It said:

"We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

And so I suggest very humbly, let us have an end to the sort of appeasement that seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress that we are making. "Appeasement," incidentally, as I use it, is a polite word for misdirected partisanship.

And so I come near the close: In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork throughout the nation has been developed, and you who are teamsters in this great organization know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is all over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security that I hope will transcend anything we have known heretofore.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and all our might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, the business men in plants and offices, are at last awake to the perils that threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, -- yes, no political campaign, can sway the majority will of our people of America to make America strong -- and to keep America free.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED IN
CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, IN CONNEC-
TION WITH THE 200th ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1940, 3 P.M., E.S.T.

President Gates, my friend the Chief Justice of Canada,
and all of my friends of the University:

I am very greatly honored to have the privilege of wearing
this hood.

I am very happy in the present University of Pennsylvania.
I cannot say that I am wholly happy that the founders of the Univer-
sity chose the year 1740. They might have had that great attribute
which I have so long sought of looking ahead and planning. They
would have founded the University in 1739, lest the two hundredth
anniversary should fall in an election year. Thereby, I, at least,
would have been saved much embarrassment. And what I want to say
to you today very simply I might as readily and easily have written
in the Autumn of '39. For even then we were in the midst of (this
is) a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization
of the world -- for in some lands it has become the custom to burn
the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national
forms of religion, morality and culture and education. In such a
time it is more than a mere formality, at a time like this, to join
with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free
and independent institution of scholarship. And, therefore, I am
doubly honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsyl-
vania. (Applause)

The very foundation of (this) the University was concerned

with freedom of religious teaching, (and) with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher (education) learning. And, as I understand my history, this (it) was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George (Whitehead) Whitefield, who, incidentally, used to go to my little County of Dutchess on the Hudson River -- a place where Dr. George Whitefield, might preach his religion without certain difficulties which -- what shall I say? -- the old conservatives of Philadelphia at that time threw in his path. (Laughter) Indeed, it was desired to make it unnecessary for (him) the good gentleman to preach in the sun and the rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise (would go) might have gone untaught.

The survival and the growth of the University through these two whole centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength (which) that is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and the force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Yes, events in (the) this world of ours today are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people in the olden days have fought and have worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom you will remember that there came (the) a conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton -- who was such a good friend of my great-grandfather

that he named one of his sons Hamilton and the other Alexander Hamilton -- that point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and, on the other hand, the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives chosen (of) by all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought and free personal living and free religion and free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school of thought were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was, however, with rare perspicuity, as time has shown, (however) that Jefferson had pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop, in the long run, into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, (which) that would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. Just so long as the voters of the Nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were

free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history (since Hamilton) of nearly a century and a half since then, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. It was a quarter of a century ago that President Eliot of Harvard University summarized (his) this view(s) when he said to me something like this: He said, "Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, nevertheless, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the Nation would go on the rocks in a very few years."

(Laughter) It may -- it may seem ungracious for a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders (laughter), but my authority for (this) that view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

And I must admit that I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the (superior) ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

On candidates and on election issues -- and remember that I am trying to think of this year as being 1939 (laughter) -- I would rather trust the aggregate judgment, for example, of all the people in a factory -- the president and all the vice presidents and the board of directors, and the managers and the foremen, plus all the

laborers -- rather than in the judgment of the few who may (be) have financial(ly) (interested) control at the time. (Applause) And on such questions the aggregate -- for another example -- the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, of the farmer and of all the farm hands will be sounder, I think, than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president and its superintendents, its engineers, its foremen, its brakemen, its conductors and trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of the management, or of the principal stockholders themselves. (Applause)

Only too often -- and we know many examples -- in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they (should) have got to vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of (these few) a fewer number of people, people who, because of business ability or what I like to think of as economic omniscience, -- I took four years of economics when I was an undergraduate at Harvard and everything I was taught is outside of all the textbooks today. The older I grow, the less omniscient I become in regard to economics, and I think most of us do -- people who are supposed to have that ability are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by self-

ish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

I cannot (never) forget that some well-meaning people have even recently (seriously) suggested seriously that the right to vote be denied to American men and women who through no fault of their own had lost their jobs and, in order to keep the family and the home going, were working on works relief projects.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can (permanently control government) can deny the right to vote to any other set. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and the enduring safety of our form of government.

And remember that no dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet of a really free election. (Applause)

(These) Fundamental truths (have become) like these have been stated so often that they are perhaps commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, in 1930, (the German people) the people of Germany, the people who lived in the Reich despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazi-ism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by (this) that special group on

on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was ever said by them about abolishing free elections. Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, as it was working out, formed political and economic alliances with this new small group.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. The right of free elections and the free choice of heads of government were suddenly wiped out by a new regime, still professing the same purity of purpose. It is a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of public officials in (that nation) Germany today, or that there ever has been one since 1933. (Applause)

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if the philosophy of the restricted vote and of government by special class were adopted, did actually happen in Germany before our very eyes. (Applause)

Many years ago, speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements(up)on government and upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: He said, "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

We must follow that rule today as readily as then, always with the condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods must remain within the same old framework of a freely/^{elected} democratic form of government. (Applause)

I have pointed out many times that western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between units of finance and industry on one side and the great mass of workers and small businessmen on the other; and that certain government controls have become necessary to prevent a few financial and industrial groups from harming or cutting the throats of other groups that are smaller in size but (much) greater in number.

We have at the same time developed new beliefs in governmental responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the relationship(s) of government (are) is to its starving people (or), to its unemployed citizens, and to take steps to fulfill its governmental duties to them.

(A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security," "minimum wages" or "maximum hours." It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric water power, reclamation of soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; or to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.)

(These are some of the new) There are many instruments of social justice (which) that America has forged to meet the new conditions of industry and agriculture and finance and labor. I will not enumerate them, for you know them. (-- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security.) These many new instruments are the means (which) that our own generation (have) has adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this University owes so much, realized too that while basic principles of natural science and of morality and (of) the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the pattern(s) of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist, were he with us today, that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not terms of the past. (Applause) Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

It is the function of education, the function of all of the great institutions of learning in the United States, to provide continuity for our national life -- to transmit to youth the best of our culture (which) that has been tested in the fire of history.

And it is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth; to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We cannot always build the future for our youth, but we can build our youth for the future. (Applause)

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history, are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds and restless intellects could not be subdued by the power of tyranny.

This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems, yes, and the agonies of his society. The times call for bold belief, belief in the past and belief in the future, that the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds (which) that unite him to his society simply by averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new; and have sufficient courage and skill to face novel facts and (to) deal with them.

If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.

We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace,

not of repose, but of effort, the keen satisfaction of doing, the deep feeling of achievement for something far beyond ourselves, the knowledge that we build more gloriously than we know. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF INDEPENDENT
VOTERS FOR ROOSEVELT.

I think we all of us have our feet on the ground sufficiently to know that we haven't accomplished for the country as much as we ought, but that a great deal is left to do. We don't want to stand still and we don't want to go back. For that reason all of us have been bearing the work in the heat of the day for a good many years; George Norris - long before I did - and I have been bearing a certain amount of the work in the heat of the day for just about thirty years, yes, thirty years this year, and George isn't through and I am not through, and some of these youngsters like Fiorella are not through.

They have got a great many years left to work for what we call by the generic term "liberalism" - for progressive objectives. And I personally am very, very happy to have this group come here today, and very, very happy to accept the support of every liberal and every progressive in the United States because I think we agree now that we are living in an era, an age where the principles of democracy itself are at stake. They are being attacked on many quarters and it is going to help democracy to survive if democracy will remain progressive and liberal through the many strange things that are happening.

And so you are working not just for progressive measures and ideals in the country -- you are working very distinctly for the preservation of democracy. And so I am glad to see you.

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September 26, 1940

Informal remarks of the President in connection with the breaking of ground for the new Hall of Records, Washington, D. C., Thursday, September twenty-sixth.

1632

DOCTOR THOMPkins, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DISTRICT:

I am very glad to come here in person today to take part in this breaking of the ground for this new Hall of Records.

Some of you know that I am so historically minded that I save everything I can get my hands on. I save old documents of all kinds, documents that go back to the early days of the Republic, and even documents that relate to the present Administration.

Having that historical sense, I believe that old records ought to be kept for historical reasons because you never can tell when something that does not seem of any particular value today may be of real value a hundred years from now.

But there is another reason. There are a great many documents that obviously will be of historical value and even of current value in our normal business life. About seven years ago I found that in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, the Government of the District was losing about \$40,000 a year. Now, of course, we ought to make the recording, not only of deeds but of any other documents, pay as it goes. We are a thrifty people. We ought not to have to pay out of tax money a loss in running an office of that kind. And during these years we have reached the amazing peak, under Dr. Thompkins, of making a profit of \$40,000 a year.

Those documents, as I say, relate to current events and they also relate to a great many old events. They go back, for example, in the real estate of the District, to, I think, 1792, when there were a great many old land records. They have been all recopied in Dr. Thompkins' administration; they are now in good shape. And we have to remember that every time any one of you buys or sells a piece of property in the District of Columbia, you have got to check back to see whether the title is genuine or not.

Furthermore, in addition to this saving -- this profit instead of the old loss -- we have brought our work up to date. In those old days, when we were children, seven years ago, it would take you not only hours and days, but weeks and months before you could get recorded by your government the various necessary documents for real estate sales or purchases and many other forms of documents that had to be recorded, not only under the law, but for the sake of safety of property.

And so this Administration, I think, has done something under Dr. Thompkins, to help the business men and property owners of the District of Columbia, and at a fee cost, incidentally, that is just about as low as any place in the United States.

Then there is another thing: As I mentioned the other day, I am a combination of Scotch and Dutch business man. We are going to save money for the taxpayers of the District by putting up this building because today we are paying out an enormous sum in rent -- \$240,000 a year, I think it is -- and with this new building, owned by the Government and paid for by the Government, we are going to amortize it, pay for it, through the profits that are being made today, in a very short time. And, after that, when we are in the building, there won't be any more rent to pay. So, from that point of view, as business people, we feel that this new building is a mighty good investment.

And so I am glad to come here and congratulate Dr. Thompkins and all of his assistants, his whole staff, on the splendid business-like job that has been done and to express the hope that he will be in this very important office for many long years to come for the service of the community and the Nation.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED
IN CONNECTION WITH THE LAYING OF THE
CORNERSTONE OF THE ADMINISTRATION
BUILDING AT THE WASHINGTON NATIONAL
AIRPORT, SEPTEMBER 28, 1940.

1634

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I think we are very fortunate in having a perfect day for this opening after having had to put it off last week. The new Secretary of Commerce, who has only been in office a few days, told me, when he got into the car at the White House, that he has discovered that the Weather Bureau is under his jurisdiction, so that explains this perfect day.

I think we have all been very much thrilled at this surprise party which we have given to the good people of Washington and Virginia. All these planes, over 500 of them, came here -- I knew about it but you didn't -- and it has been a great show. It has also been a wonderful thing for us to see these transport planes come here, just behind me, and make the first landings, the first series of landings that have ever been made on this field.

You have seen that display and I want, in my behalf and, I think, in yours, to make a new signal to the Army and the Navy that have been flying over us, and the signal to them is this:

"Well done! The Commander in Chief's compliments and thanks to all hands."

In these serious days, the roar above us of these American-made airplane engines in hundreds of American-made planes is symbolic of our determination to build up a defense on sea and on land and in the air that is capable of overcoming any attack against us. They represent in a small way the power we ultimately must have -- and will soon have. Rather let me describe this as just a gratifying flexing of the kind of fighting muscle that democracy can produce and is producing.

They are here upon a peaceful mission. We all hope that their missions will always be in the ways of peace. We shall strive with all of our energies and skills to see to it that they are never called upon for missions of war. But the more of them we have the less likely we are to have to use them -- the less likely are we to be attacked from abroad.

Here, in this broad Potomac Valley, the Father of the Country, the first President and his associates of one hundred and fifty years ago, sought to place the Nation's capital at a center of what was then the channels of transportation. There was a long dispute about the plan, a long dispute that occupied twelve years and, finally, the present head of the Nation had a dream.

This problem of an adequate flying field really, if you go back to it, has been a Washington problem since the Wright brothers had their first crash on the Fort Myer parade ground thirty or more years ago. And we might even go further back, indeed, and say the problem has existed ever since Dr. Langley tried to fly his thing called an "Aerodrome" from a barge that was anchored just below us here in the Potomac.

Following my first dream, I kept having bad dreams, as you know, dreams of sudden crashes, and things like that. The dreams got bad and I was afraid that they might come true. Therefore, upon the passage of the Civil Aeronautics Act, one of the first tasks I asked of the new agency was to create an adequate airport.

That was in August, two years ago. On November 19, 1938, I watched a dredge bring the first mucky soil from beneath ten feet of water near the spot where we now stand. They told me it was a practical thing to do because we could kill two birds with one stone. That is a favorite maxim of mine, and we try to do that wherever we can. By deepening the River, we minimize the possibility of flood damage, and the soil we have dredged out of the old river has been used to build most of the field for the Airport.

They told me, in November, 1938, that it would take two years to make this field usable. Today the field has been used and we are well within that limit by two months. It will be in regular use for the public within three more months, and Assistant Secretary Hinckley tells me that it will be so extensively used, because of the growth of civil aviation in these past two years, that already we must begin to plan other subsidiary airports for Washington as, indeed, we must do in many other parts of the Nation.

For proof of the value of the growth of aviation to the Nation's defense, we can make comparisons with George Washington's day. He had a citizenry ready to spring to arms because nearly every citizen had arms hanging over the fireplace and knew how to use them. Every gentleman wore a sword and every farmer had a musket piece which he used almost every week or so to bring food to his table. But two years ago less than twenty-five thousand of our people -- only one-fiftieth of one per cent of the population -- knew how to fly an airplane. If only that proportion of the American people had known how to use a musket in Washington's day the Continental Army would have consisted of little more than a corporal's guard.

Today fifty thousand young Americans are licensed flyers and the number is growing by almost two thousand more every month that goes by. They are not all military pilots -- but they are as ready to become military pilots as were the farmers of Washington's day to become riflemen of the line. Whereas, two years ago not more than a quarter of a million of our people used the airlines and private planes to travel in, that number -- the number of citizens at least familiar with the airplane -- has doubled and will soon be tripled.

That is why an airport like this is important to the national defense. That is why this airport, soon to be one of the world's greatest facilities, surely its most convenient and, some of us like to think, probably its most beautiful, should be brought with all possible emphasis to the attention of our people during this awakening of America to the needs of National Defense. This airport and many others which we hope will follow will draw free men freely to use a peacetime implement of commerce which, we hope, will never be converted to wartime service.

Our newspapers and the radio tell us day after day how increasingly important aircraft has become both as a weapon in the hands of aggressors and to those who fight, or may be compelled to fight, for their continued national existence. These reports easily explain why those squadrons of the Army and Navy air forces, the thunder of which still rings in our ears, were a prelude to the ceremonies here this afternoon -- a prelude to the completion and operation today even of this civilian aviation center of which we are so proud -- the Washington National Airport.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
and
REPLY OF GENERAL FELIPE RIVERA
On the Occasion of the Visit to the
Executive Offices of the White House of the
Latin-American Chiefs of Staff
October 1, 1940, 12.30 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT: I am very glad you are going on this tour because you will see on the trip some of the problems of haste and speed.

I think all of us, in all of our republics, have had peace for a great many years, consequently we were unaware of the need for speed until just lately. Now we all have one common problem, and that is the defense of the Americas.

It is very good to see you and I hope that you will see everything without any question, for, as General Marshall will explain, it is a problem that all of us have together, the same problem.

There is one final thing and that is this: If we are all, all the republics are prepared for defense, nobody will attack us.

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GENERAL FELIPE RIVERA:

Mr. President, I have the honor, for myself and for the other delegates of the Latin-American countries here present, to present cordial greetings to you and, at the same time, to assure you of the great pleasure that we have received in accepting this invitation so cordially extended to us by the Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

May I also be permitted to express to you the general feel-

ing, not only of the military people in those countries but of the countries themselves, in assuring you that our visit will be another link in the chain of cordiality and happy relations between our countries, which must produce the assurance of the continuation of our ideals and the capabilities of defending them.

May I express my personal feelings and also the feelings of the delegates here present and convey to Your Excellency, the President of the United States, our very best personal wishes.

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THE PRESIDENT:

We have an expression which I think is common to all of the twenty-one republics: "One for all and all for one."

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered at East Park, New York
In connection with the dedication of
The Franklin D. Roosevelt School
and two other new schools
October 5, 1940, 2:45 P.M., E.S.T.

PRESIDENT SMITH, PRINCIPAL JUCKETT AND MY OLD FRIEND -- I STILL CALL
HIM SENATOR COLE:

Senator Cole said something about how, in the old days, he
used to belong to one party and I belonged to the other, but I think
that both of us can agree that on matters that relate to education in
this State of ours and in this County of ours, there is very little that
is decided or done or thought of along the lines of party politics --
education is over and beyond party politics. And sometimes I wish that
other things were too.

As I have been sitting on the platform here today, I have
been thinking of the time nearly a century and a half ago -- and I do
not suppose there are many people here today who know about it -- it
was nearly a century and a half ago when (Governor) Morgan Lewis, a
citizen of the Town of Hyde Park, became the Governor of the State of
New York. His home was just north of Staatsburg Village and he was
the Governor who (lived here in the Town of Hyde Park) was chiefly
responsible for starting the Union Free School System for the children
of the State of New York. And so this township (therefore) of Hyde
Park can claim a kind of sponsorship for free and universal school
education in (New York) our State.

Also, my mind has (gone) been going back (also to the days)
to quite a long time ago, about the same age as some of the younger

people in the front row, their grandparents and the parents of some of the older people in this school, when I used to spend many hours (as a) when I was a small boy, holding my father's horse in the village of Hyde Park while my father attended meetings of the school board. Long before those days --(back about 1870) before I was born, about 1870, I think, -- my father had helped, with very great pride, to build the red brick schoolhouse over in the village of Hyde Park (where it still stands;) the schoolhouse that is still standing and, in those days, (and) it was considered a model (for its day) school.

Compare that, the old brick schoolhouse, compare it to these new three schoolhouses. (These three) See how these new (school-houses) ones emphasize how much more complex our civilization is today than it was seventy years ago. Education these days (now requires) calls for equipment and for instruction that was unthought of (then) seventy years ago. For that reason we (were all) are now under the necessity, all of us, -- the painful necessity, if you like -- but, at the same time, willing necessity -- of paying out many hundreds of thousands of dollars to substitute modern equipment for what we must admit was a bit out of date.

And may I bear tribute to the taxpayers of this Town of Hyde Park and of (the northern part) of certain portions of the Towns of Poughkeepsie and Pleasant Valley and Clinton for their willingness to do a new job of school construction rather than a repair job. If our old schoolhouses, scattered throughout the districts, remained useful to the community for threescore years and more, I think we can be confident/^{today}that in all human probability these three new schoolhouses will still be used and busy one hundred years from now. (Applause) To the

trustees of the consolidated district also, (all of us) we owe a very deep debt of gratitude, for they have shown the finest spirit of cooperation. And I know that all of us miss today the presence of our old friend, Arthur White, who was one of the trustees when the whole project was started. Personally I am (very) happy also that, without any additional cost of materials, we have built these three buildings of the native field stone of old Dutchess County. And let us remember that most of the stones that have gone into these buildings were stones (it stone) which for nearly two centuries (has) served a useful purpose to the original settlers of this County as a part of our famous stone walls.

And so, this building behind me and the other two are very definite historical reminders of the first white people that came to Dutchess County in 1700, in this part in 1730 and 1740 and 1750.

Finally, we are all happy that the trustees, with very rare foresight, have secured adequate acreage for the schools, enough for expansion in the century to come that I have spoken of. Every boy and girl in these schools will have elbow room, plenty of space and plenty of air for sports and games and recreation of all kinds. And so (The next generation) when you children grow up, you will not have to worry about buying more athletic fields (or about the high cost of adjoining property) for your children.

These three new schools symbolize, I think, two modern Government functions in (America) this country of ours, each of which is proving itself more and more vital to the continuance of the thing we call our democracy.

One of (them) these is (an) a very old function, based on the

ideal and the understanding of the Founding Fathers that true democratic government cannot long endure in the midst of widespread ignorance. They recognized that democratic government would call for the intelligent participation of all of its people, as enlightened citizens -- citizens whom we used to call (equipped with), who had what we used to call in the old days "a schooling." From (their) that time on down to our own days, it has always been recognized as a responsibility of government that every child have the right to a free and liberal education. So, today, I think that we can dedicate these buildings (can well be dedicated) of ours to that old American function -- the (American) institution of universal education.

In recent times, in the last decade, this right of free education, (which) that has become a part of the national life in our land, has taken on additional significance (from) because of certain events in certain other lands. For a very large portion of the world (the) that right no longer exists. Almost the first freedom to be destroyed, as dictators take control, is the freedom of learning. Tyranny hates and fears nothing more than the free exchange of ideas, the free play of the mind that comes from education.

In these schools of ours and in other American schools, the children of today and of future generations will be taught, without censorship or restriction, the facts of current history and the whole context of current knowledge. Their textbooks will not be burned by a dictator who disagrees with them; their teachers will not be banished by a ruler whom they have offended; their schools will not be closed if they teach unpalatable truths; and their daily instruction will not be governed by the decrees of any central bureau of propa-

ganda. They will get not all of the story part of the time, or only part of the story all of the time -- they will continue to get all of the story all of the time. (Applause)

And here, in these and other schools, will be trained the young people of a nation -- not for enforced labor camps or for regimentation as an enslaved citizenry, but for the intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage, and for participation as free human beings in the life of the Nation.

These buildings are also a symbol of a second, (and) a newer responsibility (which) that our democracy has assumed as one of its major functions. As you know, they have been paid for, these buildings, in part by the taxpayers of the consolidated district, and in part, by the Federal Government in accordance with the purpose of the Federal Government to give work to many Americans who otherwise could find no work.

About eight years ago, at a time when our national economy had been prostrate for several years, when starvation (and) or under-nourishment or bankruptcy had almost become the order of the day, the Government of our country for the first time took on this new responsibility. There were some in those days who chanted that nature had to run its course of misery, that deflation could not be stopped, and that the depression was only the working of natural economic laws in a system of free enterprise.

The American Government, through its elected representatives in the Legislative and Executive Branches, decided to reject (this) that philosophy of inaction and irresponsibility and indifference to the destitution of its citizens. In its place was substituted a new doc-

trine -- that the Government owed a continuing responsibility to see to it that no one should starve who was willing to work but was unable to find work. That was the responsibility, the duty, (which) that the collective strength and will of all of the people imposed upon themselves, to alleviate the suffering of their fellow beings and to stimulate recovery in their national economy. That responsibility expresses itself in the example (which) that stands before us (here) today.

And remember that the (This) Nation, all the way from one coast to the other, all the way from Canada to Mexico, is (now) dotted in almost every one of its thirty-two hundred counties with schools, to the construction of which the Federal Government has contributed -- new schools, useful schools, schools to replace outworn schools, schools that were needed by the communities where they were erected, and schools, incidentally, for which the communities were ready and willing to contribute their own share out of their own pockets.

There is not a single person in the United States who has not seen some new, useful structure -- not just a school, perhaps, a hospital or a bridge or a town hall or a highway or an airport or a dam or a (sewer) new waterworks or a sewage disposal system -- one of the hundreds of thousands of new necessary improvements (which) that were built recently in the United States -- illustrations of the results of giving employment on useful projects that were approved by each community.

The public wealth of the United States -- the property (of every man, woman and child) that all of us own jointly -- has been increased by means such as these in hundreds of ways. The idle funds

of the Nation have been put to work so that idle hands could be put to useful tasks.

Into every project went money for wages; where did they go? Why, the wages were spent at local stores; the stores replenished their stocks; and the wheels of industry and business moved that much faster. Into every project went materials for construction -- materials from (all) every part(s) of the (country) United States. For example, right here, while our own local neighborhood provided the stone for these very schools, and perhaps the sand and the gravel for the concrete foundations, almost everything else (used was made in some other part of America), the steel and the lumber and the desks and the vocational training equipment and all the other things that are in these schools came here from other places in our country.

In terms of dollars and cents, no sounder investment could (have been) be made for the American people as well as for this consolidated district. But the material return from that investment was not the most important gain. There came with it a development of morale, a new hope (and), a new courage, a new self-respect among the unemployed -- a definite gain in the fiber and the strength of American life. In building for the well-being of America, I think we have built for the defense of America as well. (Applause)

To you of the younger generation who are here today I could, perhaps, if it were not for the fact that I am talking on the air to several other parts of the country, I might be able to tell you stories about your parents and grandparents when they were your age. But I am not going to do it. All I am going to do is to (now attending these

schools, I) offer to you my very sincere congratulations. You have the privilege of improving your education in institutions which have the best of modern equipment and high standards of instruction and curriculum.

You have advantages which your fathers and mothers did not enjoy. (But) We do not begrudge you them. For it will be the obligation of the youth of America to maintain under the more strenuous conditions of modern life our cherished traditions of democratic freedom.

Yes, you live in a more complicated world than (your fathers) we did in the older days. Your lives will be much more intimately tied with the lives of those in other cities, in other towns, and counties (in other) and states.

You are a vital part of an America which, more thoroughly than ever before, thinks in terms of national unity. (That unity is steadily improving in the desire for general education.) The greater desire for general education is steadily improving that unity. We know today that the older children here will well understand the change that is taking place in America in recent years. They will know that that word "unity" has gone a long ways in our own lifetime.

The older school district units throughout the Nation are being merged into consolidated districts, in the cause of better education. They in turn, these consolidated districts, are operating in (a) state systems, which (is) are constantly striving to improve standards and facilities. And finally, with the aid of the Federal Government itself, education is coming to be regarded throughout the country as part and parcel of the general well-being of old and young alike,

and as a necessary factor in raising the standards of(American) our life.

All of this is typical of the knitting together of our people in every state and every county and every town in a unity that is so necessary to our salvation in these days of what we know are great emergencies, emergencies (which) that threaten the democracies of the world.

And so, my friends, I am very happy and I am very proud to take part in these symbols of new America, built on the old America, that is going to live through all of the centuries to come. (Prolonged applause)

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REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered over the radio
To the Dutchess County Democratic Committee Meeting
Held at the Nelson House, Poughkeepsie, New York
October 5, 1940, 9.00 P. M.

To Jim Benson, to all of you who are attending the dinner tonight, I want to express my very deep regret that I cannot be with you in person.

I hope that your efforts in the coming weeks will be crowned by success. I sincerely believe that you are seeking to give to our country definite improvement in the various forms of local government, and to our freely chosen representative system in Albany and in Washington that you are going to give nominees who measure up to high standards both of integrity and of intelligence.

Wholly aside from any partisan feeling, I am sure that I am not alone in this County of Dutchess in feeling that local government could be very greatly improved in many particulars.

I would have exactly the same feeling if the county government and all the town governments were in the hands of people who had been elected as Democrats and I would say the same thing. I do not think that other people, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats or Independents, are complacent about things as they stand today; in other words, that they are wholly satisfied with what we have got.

All of us, if we are fairminded, know that very great improvements can be made. All of us know that for the amount of money which the taxpayers of this county pay year after year we could have better planning and better management, and that we could get less

partisanship for our money.

I trust that in the coming campaign the Democratic candidates for office will stress not so much their democracy as they will their belief that they can give more efficient and honest service than many of those who are their opponents.

I always think that Government down at the bottom -- local government -- very closely touches the lives of every individual citizen or family. No matter how much (those) people in the Federal Government or at Albany strive to plan and carry out improvements, interest in local government is an essential. Simplification of local government is an essential. Constant local vigilance is an essential. Scrutiny of the records of those who represent you and ask a renewal of your confidence is an essential.

The population of Dutchess County is growing greatly. We represent almost every form of American life. Our two cities are growing; the suburban areas are growing; the villages are growing, and still most of the area of the county is devoted to farming.

That is why I have always placed so much emphasis on planning for the future. We do not want (the) this county of ours, twenty years from now, in (of) 1960, to represent a "topsy-like" growth, something that just grew up like Topsy, presenting many serious problems twenty years from now (which) that could (be) have been prevented by us, by our looking ahead in 1940.

The unplanned history of many other counties in (this) our State shows us many examples of bad management through lack of planning. Too often this has been due to lack of interest on the part of the voters, and it is essential for us to choose as our officials

people who will not only do the grand job that is called for by the office itself, but people that will also think about how they can improve things for the next generation. I am especially interested in the problems of that coming next generation, and I am sure that you are (also) too.

Overstatement and personal attacks and wild promises certainly have no part in our county campaign -- any more than they should have a place in a national campaign. I am very certain that realizing this you will conduct our campaign (it) on the highest possible level of American ethics and American decency. May your efforts be understood (and), may your efforts be approved by the voters next November.

And so, my friends, I shall be thinking greatly in the next few weeks of my old constituents, my old friends, (and) my old neighbors. So I say to you, "Good luck to you all." (Applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL
TRAIN, AKRON, OHIO, OCTOBER 11, 1940

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I am glad to see you. I wish I could stay longer in Akron.

I have had a very interesting day. I have been trying to learn at first hand how this great defense program of ours is going.

May I say this to you. You and I know the difficulties and the dangers of these times in the world. For many years we in the United States have managed to keep out of trouble in other continents and I am confident that in the future we shall be able to avoid being brought into war through attack by somebody else on the Americas. But I also believe, and I think most of you do too, that the best way to avoid an attack is to be ready to meet one.

And that is why in the steel plants, in Pittsburgh and in Youngstown, I told the foremen and the men in those plants several times that the one thing we all ought to work for in speeding up this program is more speed -- the quicker, the better.

And so, to you who are a part of defense -- to you in this town I give the message, "speed up all you can."

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION
OF THE 100,000th HOUSING UNIT, IN
TERRACE VILLAGE, PITTSBURGH, PA.,
OCTOBER 11th, 1940.

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MR. MAYOR, MR. EVANS, MY GOOD FRIENDS OF PITTSBURGH:

I have come here today very informally on what is essentially a trip to educate myself, to learn about what is happening for national defense in this section, and at the same time to look over some of these projects that have, as the Mayor said, a great deal to do with national defense.

I go back over more than a quarter of a century to the first study in this country of any importance that was made in relation to the problem of better housing. It was done here in Pittsburgh over a quarter of a century ago and it seems to me that from that time on we have been learning steadily, all over the Nation, more about the need of better housing for our citizens. It has taken initiative and at last we are getting examples like this.

In this particular project of the U. S. Housing Authority there is contained the one hundred thousandth family dwelling unit -- all of them built through that one agency. Say there are five people to the family. Well, that would account for five hundred thousand Americans. That is not very much out of one hundred and thirty million and therefore we know that this work has only started and that it has got to go on.

Still, half a million people represent a pretty sizeable crowd and we must remember that in other methods, other forms of building houses in this country we have added -- in addition to those five hundred thousand people we have taken care of nearly two million more people who have been given better homes.

All that represents another phase of Democracy at work and we have here a representation of intelligent and sympathetic cooperation between the Federal Government and the local agencies of government. The Federal Government, through the Congress, provided, initially, funds with which these buildings were built. The homes were conceived and constructed under the direction of the Housing Authority of Pittsburgh.

And may I say that these homes are a monument to the devotion and the perseverance of the leaders in this housing movement in Pittsburgh. Not only this section but every other section of the Union is richer for having antiquated, squalid shacks replaced by these bright, decent houses. You know, everything wears out in time, or it gets obsolete, and it is a mighty difficult thing for us to ask our population to live in obsolete or worn-out houses that were built 75 or 100 years ago.

The jobs and the homes of most of the people in our country constitute a part of their stake in the Nation. As long as they know that their government is sympathetically working to protect their jobs and to better their homes, we can be confident that if the need arises the people themselves will wholeheartedly join in the defense of their homes and the defense of their democracy.

And so I regard these housing projects everywhere as a part of the program of defense. You are doing a grand job. Do more of it and speed it up.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Dayton, Ohio,
October 12, 1940, 9:00 P.M.

MY FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAS:

It is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere -- North America, and Central America and South America -- should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. No day could be more appropriate than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

Today, all of us Americans of North and Central and South America, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics -- and in addition, those who have helped to create the scientific, commercial, professional, and artistic life of the New World are well known to us.

The Americas have excelled in the adventure of many races living together in harmony. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. Later, they fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for; they gained it -- and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all future time".

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses yearning to be free" -- "the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues", cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind them the burden of prejudice and (hatred) hate.

In this New World were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. And in our own day the fact is that a great part of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas themselves.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance, (and) the first and final loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay, (and) to become citizens of the New World. As (it) we established (its) our independences, they wanted to become citizens of America -- not an Anglo-Saxon American, nor an Italian-American, nor a German-American, nor a Spanish-American, nor a Portuguese-American -- but just citizens of an independent nation of America.

Here, we do not have any dual citizenship. Here, the descendants

of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second-class nation. And that is something worth remembering.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made, alas -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americans can be torn by the hatreds and fears (which) have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer!" That has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe for the moment. On our continents it will fail.

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots (and), the propaganda -- the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and now clearly directed against all of the Republics on this side of the ocean.

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberties, are things of the past.

We reject (this) that thought. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the Pharoahs, backward to the slavery of the Middle Ages.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment.

We have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire of freedom was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to control any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of good old-fashioned neighborly friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able to ward off any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas (which) that would destroy our freedom and our democracy.

And when we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, and Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean(s). That has been our traditional policy.

It is (a fact), for example, a fact that as far back as the year

1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of (this) that threat to peace in this Hemisphere of ours, the USS, United States Ships, "CONSTELLATION", "CONSTITUTION", "UNITED STATES", and many others (Constitution and many other ships) were fitted out; and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters and armed, to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

There are some in every single one of the twenty-one American Republics who suggest that the course the Americas are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many long years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other Republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources,

arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to help defend the whole hemisphere.

We are building a total defense on land and on sea and in the air, a total defense sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in its history, has undertaken the mustering of its men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance (of) from industry and labor. All of us are speeding the preparation of adequate defense.

And we are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our own military and naval experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

Because we shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings when the Government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South and Central America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American

Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at last in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian, (of Italian birth) Alberdi, of Italian birth, "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

Through the acquisition in recent months of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have (and) of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through cooperation by and for all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity (which) that has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in some other lands are used, to send out on the self-same day one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions

we defend. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to almost the last free people now fighting to hold them at bay.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. Let no American in any part of the Americas question the possibility of danger from over seas. Why should we accept assurances that we are immune? History records that not long ago those same assurances were given to the people of Holland and Belgium and Norway.

It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace (on) in this hemisphere. Because

great strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

The men and women of Britain have shown how free people defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time. It will be perpetual proof that democracy, when put to the test, can show the stuff of which it is made.

I well recall during my recent visit to three great capital cities in South America, the vast throng which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I remember especially that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again -- one should above all others: "Viva la Democracia!" -- "Long live democracy!"

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the nations in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la democracia" -- "Long live democracy!"

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

October 13, 1940

This address of the President, delivered in behalf of the 1940 Mobilization for Human Needs, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:35 P.M., E.S.T., today, October 13, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CAUTION: Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

CHAIRMAN ADAMS, COMMUNITY CHEST WORKERS, FRIENDS OF HUMAN NEEDS:

The Mobilization for Human Needs this year is more than ever an expression of our national community spirit. It is, as it always has been, a good cause, participated in by good Americans who represent all sections of our country, all walks of life, all shades of political opinion, all races and creeds.

But in this critical moment of our history, we must be more than ever conscious of the true meaning of the "community spirit" which it expresses. It is a spirit which comes from our community of interests, our community of faith in the democratic ideal, our community of devotion to God.

Wherever men and women of good will gather together to serve their community, there is America. It was true in the first little town meetings in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, when the good folk assembled to decide measures of defense against the Indians, and how to build their first school, and how to care for their aged and sick. It is still true in this great national drive, all the way across our continent, for the Community Chest Funds.

Even in the early days when our society centered in the village community, and when every neighbor knew all the neighbors, the care of the poor was in some measure a public undertaking. In colonial America money raised through taxation was often distributed by the churches among the poor. Later the county government and the city council assumed a part of these duties. Then the state itself began taking care of some of the sick. And finally, in our own day, the national government was obliged to assume a definite responsibility in giving work to able-bodied needy unemployed.

At one stage in our national history, the baskets of bread and meat carried by housewives to the houses down below the railroad tracks were adequate to temper the suffering of the victims of industrial depression. In those days a group of town business men, gathered on the sidewalk at the chief corner of Main Street, could devise some method so that Joe Smith and Tom Jones would be able to buy shoes for their children.

Then, however, American industry went on a mass production basis, it became increasingly difficult for men to find employment on the assembly line; it created a problem in the unemployment of elderly men and middle-aged men too great to be solved by the good will of individual business men on a street corner.

When the World War caused the great plains to be plowed up for wheat, and the wheat fields turned into dust storms that drove 200,000 members of the Ioad family to California, there was a problem of unemployment and suffering that could no longer be handled by baskets of bread and meat.

Through the industrial era there were created problems of old age, of mass unemployment, of occupational diseases, of industrial accidents, of child labor and sweatshops -- too great to be solved by the individual or the family, or by friends or private charity.

These were problems which could be handled only by the joint and common endeavors of the Government of the United States, the governments of our states, our counties, our towns, and of the organized charities and social service agencies run by private methods. Government authorities have always required the cooperation of men and women banded together in organizations such as those you represent, to bring the kindly touch of human sympathy to the tragedies of dislocated, broken families.

It is necessary for us to remember the very intimate and human side of these problems. Only in a limited measure can flexibility of administration temper the impersonal quality of general rules of law. Private charity is essential to personalize and humanize the task of relieving suffering. For general rules cannot cover the wide range of ever-varying human needs, because human needs are affected by a thousand matters which do not fit into pigeon-holes.

As long as there is illness in the world, as long as there is poverty, as long as families are stricken with personal misfortune, it will be necessary for the goodhearted men and women of America to mobilize for human needs.

This year as never before there is need for an intensification of our efforts. Events abroad have warned us not only of the need of planes and tanks, and ships and guns; they have also warned us of the need of grit and sacrifice, of daring and devotion, and all those intangible things which go to make up a nation's morale.

When we join together in serving our local community, we add strength to our national community, we help to fortify the structure of our whole Union. That form of fortification -- that spiritual fortification -- is not to be dismissed lightly by those in other lands who believe that nations can live by force alone.

Human kindness has never weakened the stamina or softened the fibre of a free people. A nation does not have to be cruel in order to be tough. The vigorous expression of our American community spirit is truly important.

The ancient injunction to love thy neighbor as thyself is still the force that animates our faith -- a faith that we are determined shall live and conquer in a world poisoned by hatred and ravaged by war.

I ask for your enlistment in the Mobilization for Human Needs, for your whole-hearted devotion to the American community spirit. I ask you to prove your good faith in good works.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

October 15, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast over a nationwide hookup on Registration Day, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 8 a.m., E.S.T., October 16, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

On this day more than sixteen million young Americans are reviving the three hundred year old American custom of the Muster. They are obeying that first duty of free citizenship by which, from the earliest Colonial times, every able-bodied citizen was subject to the call for service in the national defense.

It is a day of deep and purposeful meaning in the lives of all of us. For on this day we Americans proclaim the vitality of our history, the singleness of our will and the unity of our nation.

We prepare to keep the peace in this New World which free men have built for free men to live in. The United States, a nation of one hundred and thirty million people, has today only about five hundred thousand -- half a million -- officers and men in Army and National Guard. Other nations, smaller in population, have four and five and six million trained men in their armies. Our present program will train eight hundred thousand additional men this coming year and somewhat less than one million men each year thereafter. It is a program obviously of defensive preparation and of defensive preparation only.

Calmly, without fear and without hysteria, but with clear determination, we are building guns and planes and tanks and ships -- and all the other tools which modern defense requires. We are mobilizing our citizenship, for we are calling on men and women and property and money to join in making our defense effective. Today's registration for training and service is the key-stone in the arch of our national defense.

In the days when our forefathers laid the foundation of our democracy, every American family had to have its gun and know how to use it. Today we live under threats, threats of aggression from abroad, which call again for the same readiness, the same vigilance. Ours must once again be the spirit of those who were prepared to defend as they built, to defend as they worked, to defend as they worshipped.

The duty of this day has been imposed upon us from without. Those who have dared to threaten the whole world with war -- those who have created the name and deed of Total War -- have imposed upon us and upon all free peoples the necessity of preparation for total defense.

But this day not only imposes a duty; it provides also an opportunity -- an opportunity for united action in the cause of liberty -- an opportunity for the continuing creation on this continent of a country where the people alone shall be master, where the people shall be truly free.

To the sixteen million young men who register today, I say that democracy is your cause -- the cause of youth.

Democracy is the one form of society which guarantees to every new generation of men the right to imagine and to attempt to bring to pass a better world. Under the despotisms the imagination of a better world and its achievement are alike forbidden.

Your act today affirms not only your loyalty to your country, but your will to build your future for yourselves.

We of today, with God's help, can bequeath to Americans of tomorrow a nation in which the ways of liberty and justice will survive and be secure. Such a nation must be devoted to the cause of peace. And it is for that cause that America arms itself.

It is to that cause -- the cause of peace -- that we Americans today devote our national will and our national spirit and our national strength.

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RECORD OF CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN DELEGATION OF
LITHUANIAN-AMERICANS AND THE PRESIDENT DURING CALL
OF THIS GROUP ON THE PRESIDENT TO THANK HIM FOR
HIS STAND WHEN LITHUANIA WAS ANNEXED BY RUSSIA,
AND TO PRESENT HIM WITH SOME LITHUANIAN TRINKETS
October 15, 1940

SPEAKER OF THE GROUP: Mr. President, the members of this delegation are loyal American citizens, first, last and always. We are sons of America but we feel that we are sons of Lithuania as well. We can be sons of both.

I would like to make a statement with reference to Lithuania. Probably I had better not, because I think you know it. The world knows of Lithuania, her losses, her difficulties. I think that I would better dispense with the conditions under which, as you stated, Lithuania temporarily has lost her independence, or it was suspended.

We feel, Mr. President, that when Lithuania temporarily lost that independence that other nations who had recognized her in the big family of nations should have taken some stand with reference to that Russian grab, bluntly speaking. However, nothing was done. The eyes of Lithuanians of America were turned towards those other Democracies that still remain in Europe, and our eyes were turned to you, Mr. President, for an expression. Some time elapsed before any expression was made, but when you, Mr. President, stated the policy of the United States Government with reference to that unlawful grab, it brought great hopes to us Lithuanians here in America, as no doubt it did to the Lithuanians of Lithuania. It brought new hopes to us, that some day Lithuania will take her place among

the other nations.

So, it is with that thought, Mr. President, that we come here today to express our gratitude to you for the stand which you have taken: your foreign policy with reference to these countries which have, as you stated, lost their independence temporarily. We have prepared this scroll and we wish that you would accept it in the spirit that we give it, with the thought that we are expressing our sincerest appreciation for what you have done, not only for us but for the other countries who are in the same position that Lithuania stands in. On behalf of this group, and particularly on my own behalf, I want to wish to you many, many years of good health and success in the administration of the affairs of this country.

(The President was then presented with a string of amber beads and a scroll.)

THE PRESIDENT: Perfectly lovely amber. Well, you will probably see a photograph of my wife wearing this.

I am very appreciative and, of course, as you know, Lithuania eventually, in the end of this war, is going to be recognized as a nation just as much as a great many smaller countries. We think of Lithuania here as comparatively a small country, but we have a great many American republics which are smaller than Lithuania, and we insist on them maintaining their independence. Take San Salvador and other small countries in Central and South America -- small populations but an absolute right to their own rights. It will be a long time before that can be applied to

the small nations of Europe, but in the long run we have got to allow people, who prefer to maintain a nation of their own, to do so. And that is what we are all working for, and that is why I say it is only a temporary suspension of independence and we will have Lithuania back on the map. And you will understand that I know how you feel, as my ancestors came here further back than yours but, nevertheless, I am an American, but I have a feeling for the Netherlands -- it is a sentimental feeling. I want the independence of the Netherlands. It is the same thing exactly. My mother's family comes from Belgium, and I have the same feeling about the independence of Belgium, and that it will be restored.

It has been grand to see you.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
On the occasion of the visit to the
Executive Offices of the White House
of a delegation representing the Slovak
Convention then being held in Washington
October 18, 1940, 12.15 P.M.

The following were the members of the delegation:

Dr. Peter P. Hletko

Stephen J. Skriba

Joseph Husek

Magr. Stephen Krasula

Rev. Casimir Ovaroko

Mrs. Gabriela Vavrek

Mrs. Helen Kocan

Joseph G. Prusa

Adam Podkrivacky

Judge Michael Trenko

John Kridlo

Michael Sincak

Edward Vacky

Rev. Anton Gracik

Joseph Steller

(The President shook hands with each member of the delegation.)

THE PRESIDENT: Here is an interesting thing: I had this group in the other day, the Lithuanians. Let me tell you the story. They gave me a scroll, a resolution, talking about the loss of independence of the Lithuanians. When they got all through, I pulled a very long face and I said, "It says here, 'the loss of independence of the Lithuanians.' Instead of that it should be

said that Lithuania has temporarily suspended its independence and is going to get it back." That is the real story, because Lithuania, Latvia, Poland and Czechoslovakia are going to get their independence before they get through.

DR. HLETKO: That is the same thought we have.

THE PRESIDENT: We may have and we have had quite a struggle, but we are working toward that objective.

Another thing I pointed out was this Pan-American policy of ours. Under that policy there are twenty-one republics, and among those twenty-one republics there are a number that are infinitely smaller than Czechoslovakia. Now, if it is true that these republics in Central America and South America, although they are small, should retain their nationality, why isn't it equally true that countries in Europe should retain theirs? It is the same principle, absolutely the same principle.

JUDGE TREMKO: Just as you say, we Americans do not discriminate, regardless of size.

THE PRESIDENT: No, we are opposed to the crushing, by one big nation, of the little nations over here.

DR. HLETKO: We are having a conference at this time of Slovak organizations all over the country, and they are all, 160 of us, in Washington representing those organizations. It is a small delegation, but they represent all parts of the country, and we are, of course, very happy to have this opportunity to come in and extend our greetings and to assure you of our loyalty and cooperation to the fullest extent.

You can always depend on the Slovaks.

JUDGE TREMKO: We want you to know that you have our sincere support in every noble thing that you have done and will do for the future of this country. And may God bless your health.

THE PRESIDENT: I would much rather have the Monsignor give me his blessing.

MONSIGNOR KRASULA: I am happy to do so, Mr. President.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Wilmington, Delaware
October 23, 1940, 2.15 P.M.

I have come back to Wilmington again.

I very well remember (very well my) the short visit, the short stop I made here in 1936. (to Wilmington during the election of 1936.) You know, some of the political experts of those days were (somewhat) a little amused at (my visit to Delaware in a political campaign. They told me that I certainly was optimistic if I thought that Delaware would go democratic in that Presidential election) the thought that I could carry Delaware and I think they were surprised at the splendid result.

(They were surprised at the result of that election.)

Four years ago Wilmington was the home town of the famous Liberty League. (It) We remember that League was created for several purposes, but its major objective was to defeat the New Deal and drive it from office. That purpose still lives in other forms.

In view of that fact I thought four years ago and I still think that Wilmington (was) is a good place to read from a speech made by President Abraham Lincoln (the) his definition (which he gave) of the word "liberty."

This year I think (that) the definition is of even greater significance. (This) Here is what President Lincoln said:

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor;

while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names -- liberty and tyranny."

And then Abraham Lincoln used this example. He said:

"The Shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty.....Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures.....and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty."

And then, finally, Lincoln said this:

"Recently, as it seems, the people have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated."

In 1936, almost four years to the day, the people of the United States took definite action to define what they intended Liberty to mean in this country of ours for the next four years. They repudiated the wolf's dictionary.

I am sure that this year the people, not only of Delaware but of the United States, are all taking a renewed interest in that word "liberty." There are not so many countries left where the word has any real meaning.

I hope that by their votes on election day the people of the State of Delaware will reaffirm their own definition of "liberty" -- the same definition they made four years ago.

And, in saying goodbye, may I say that I am very happy to

be here with one Senator from Delaware and that I hope that he will
be joined in Washington by another Senator from Delaware, who is on
this platform.

And also, in the State of Delaware, with many visits to
Washington, by this new Governor of Delaware. (Applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
New York Shipbuilding Company Plant
Camden, New Jersey
October 23, 1940, 4.00 P.M.

I am very glad to come back here after twenty-three years, and, more than that, I want to convey to you my thanks officially, the thanks of the United States Government, for the splendid work that you are doing here in this great shipyard.

I am especially happy to be told today that these ships -- which are not just on order but are being built -- these ships, thanks to all that you are doing, are from four to six months ahead of time.

They are being built, as you know, not to go to war but to keep us at peace. (Applause)

And so all I can say to you is, "Thanks, and keep up the good work and keep up the speed." (Applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Frankford Arsenal
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
October 23, 1940, 5.15 P.M.

I am very, very glad to come here. I have heard a great deal about Frankford but I have never been here before.

I am very proud of what the Colonel (Colonel Boatwich) tells me, that we are now employing 7,000 people here at this Arsenal.

You are doing fine work. You are getting into production, you are not behindhand, and we are counting, the Army and the Navy, on all of you good people to speed up the good work as fast as you can.

The more quickly the United States -- we arm, the more secure our national peace will be. That is why I appreciate the splendid cooperation that you are all giving.

Thank you.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
To the Herald Tribune Forum
October 24, 1940, 4.45 P.M.

(Made from his home in Hyde Park.)

MRS. REID, MEMBERS OF THE HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM:

In closing this Forum on the subject, "Saving Democracy," I can think of no better text than the final words of the speech which Abraham Lincoln gave in Cooper Institute in New York City on February 27th, 1860.

Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger. Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was the "intellect and moral culture" of the city. Lincoln warned them against the fear-mongers and the calamity howlers -- the "appeasers" of that troubled time, appeasers who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer -- the American answer -- to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

The repeaters of these slanders to our democracy, whether conscious disorganizers or unwitting dupes, seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that democracy is outworn and that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must, as they say, be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" -- so we are called by the enemies of democracy -- and we are called so because they say so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free (inquiry) inquiries and free debate -- because we argue with each other -- because we engage in political campaigns -- because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, in terror of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

Despising democracy and not knowing our strength, those who have destroyed other free peoples deem the United States an "effete, degenerate democracy."

At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the (two) American continents, and of the oceans that are the highways of those two continents. And we are doing so in a mood of determination, but unafraid and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory -- that we are "hybrid and undynamic -- mongrel and corrupt," and that, therefore, we can have no

common tradition -- let them look at most gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place on November fifth. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Satori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage, courage "to pull up stakes and git moving," as they used to say. That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Out continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. They were animated just as we are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold, (and) the adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom -- for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one -- a nation which is

a partnership -- and can continue as a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator -- supported by a small, highly-organized minority who call themselves the "elite."

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the one hundred and thirty million members of our national community from whom our Government's authority is derived and to whom our Government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of human communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. Just as I, as elected head of your Government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you talk to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us -- enabling the free interchange of ideas -- forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We see, across the waters, that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a democracy -- men and women and little children -- displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, across the water, their churches and their national shrines, are

being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives men dignity, to give them strength. And so we say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it."

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT
THE CEREMONIES INCIDENT TO GROUND BREAK-
ING FOR THE BROOKLYN-BATTERY TUNNEL,
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 28, 1940.

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Governor Lehman, Mr. Mayor, my friends:

I am very happy to be back in my State -- our State. I am very happy to take part again in the breaking of ground in the commencement of another great project by which the people of this City can more easily go from one part of the City to the other.

I feel like saying today -- "at last!" because for some time there was some dispute as to whether we would cross the River, the East River, between Manhattan and Brooklyn under the water or over the water. That was a question that mere laymen couldn't decide. We had to call in the people who were primarily responsible for the national defense of the United States, and they told us, the Army Engineers, that, looking way way into the future -- we hope so far away that none of us will live to see it -- there might be an attack on America and that if that attack were to come it would be safer for America and all these cities if we could have this tunnel instead of that bridge. That is why, essentially, it is a tunnel and not a bridge.

There is one more point I would like to make to you, although it has been made already. During these nearly eight years, taking the City of New York as an example, there have been a great many very important improvements made, not only for health and housing and other things, but for communications as well. They have been put, nearly all of them, on a pay-as-you-go basis. In other words, they pay themselves out at some time. And I am quite certain that this tunnel is going to pay itself out for two very good reasons: In the first place it is being built by a man named Jones who is head of the Tunnel Authority and, in the second place, most of the money is being put up by a man named Jones, from Washington, and if you can get by Jones plus Jones you can be quite sure that it will be a financial success.

And, finally, not only are we doing physical things, like tunnels and bridges and housing and many other things but also we are trying to improve the conditions under which people work. In the progress of science and of health these past eight years, I am confident that every precaution will be taken to protect the men who work on this tunnel job, the sand hogs and others, who work many many feet below the surface of the soil and of the water. This tunnel, in its construction, will show improvements in the methods of work and in the actual daily practices under which the workers labor, improvements over the methods and practices used in the building of the earlier tunnels for this City. That is something that goes hand in hand with all of this splendid new construction work.

I am very, very happy to take part in this ceremony. I cannot say that I will accept the Mayor's invitation for four years from now but I can say I hope to next week.

And now they tell me that all I have to do is to pull this (cord). I don't know what happens but I think that bucket is going to descend.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Hunter College, New York
October 28, 1940

(The text of these remarks was not released to the press.)

I am very glad that this is the final dedication of Hunter College. But it is not my final appearance because, on this visit, I am afraid that I shall not get a chance to see all I want to of the College. I have only seen one side of it; I have only seen a part of the entire student body and faculty, so I am coming back again to see the rest of you. (Applause)

You know, our Mayor is probably the most appealing person I know of. (Laughter) He comes down to Washington and tells me a very, very sad story -- oh, a terribly sad story, with the tears running down out of his eyes and running down his cheek, and the first thing I know he has wangled another fifty million dollars out of me.

I want to tell you a story about teachers' colleges in the State of New York. I do not think I have ever told it before, but the story in itself presents a problem, not only the problem for teachers, for people who have made up their minds what their life work is going to be, but also a problem for the younger people in this country, the boys and girls, who may, perhaps, at a fairly early age, be thinking of going into a profession, the honorable and ancient profession of teaching.

This was back in 1929, the first year that Governor Lehman and I were in Albany. In the closing days of the session of the Legislature, there were passed two bills, two acts of the Legislature, sub-

mitted to me after the Legislature had adjourned. I had several weeks in which to decide whether I would sign them or disapprove them -- veto them, as we call it. And, incidentally, both the present Governor and his predecessor held all distance records, and still hold them, of vetoing unnecessary bills. And I think, also, that I can go just one step further: You know, Grover Cleveland in the old days was known as the great veto president. I beat him.

Now, here was the case of the reason for checking on the bills: here were two bills that were special bills. They were special legislation, therefore we looked at them with a good deal of care. One bill was to build a high school, build a normal school, down in this part of the State. The other was a bill to build a new normal school in the western part of our State. Well, I am all for normal schools, teachers' colleges, et cetera and so on, turning out teachers, but I asked the Commissioner of Education in Albany a simple question.

Mind you, this was the spring of 1929, when there was that tremendous surge that we thought was a surge of prosperity, when everybody, every factory, was running and we thought of it as the golden era of American prosperity. It was a few months before that awful bubble burst.

And the Commissioner of Education came in to see me and I said, "Doctor, before I sign those bills to build two new teachers' colleges, I want to ask you a question. You have on the rolls of the Department of Education and they have in the City of New York lists of qualified, certified teachers in our State, who are looking for teaching jobs?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Will you tell me how many names there are on those lists?" Remember, this was the height of

prosperity. "How many names there are of teachers who are unable to find teaching jobs?" He said, "I will find out. I never thought of it."

He went back and he reported to me that there were 7,000 men and women, qualified teachers, certified, who were, at the height of prosperity, looking for jobs.

I only cite that example, that story, because I think one of the important things for all of us, for teachers themselves, for governors, legislators, even the President, to try to tell the younger generation, the boys and girls in high school, what the chance is in this profession, what the chance is in the next profession, what the chance is in the third profession, so that at least we can give to the younger generation information of where the best chances in life lie during that particular period.

I think that there is room in the field of education. I say that because in so many parts of the country we still have the problem of providing better qualified teachers in all kinds of schools. And, in many parts of the country, we need a great many more teachers in the public schools. We need a great many more qualified people to bring the younger generation to maturity, to the grown-up period, with a better chance of living in this very complex civilization of ours.

And so I do not know whether Governor Lehman has started any more normal schools or not since I went away, but if he did, it was because they were needed.

I know very well, having lived off and on within a couple of blocks of here, I know Hunter College very well. And I know that Hunter College is needed. There is no question about its usefulness

in this community.

As I have said, I am going to come back and look it over because for an old, old man of fifty-eight, all this modern lighting and a great many things have changed in the last forty years, but I am still young enough to take an interest in the changes.

I advocate changes. (Applause)

Once upon a time, some years ago, I was terribly razed with cartoons appearing in the papers, because I used the phrase -- I said I did not want to go back to "horse and buggy days." I still do not believe that this Nation or this State or this City wants to go back to horse and buggy days. I think there is only one real thing that we want to maintain, that was still alive, very much alive in the horse and buggy days, and that was patriotism, love of our nation, that began many, many generations ago, and that is still with us, as we know, in this great city. I believe that there are some things that are old that are worth preserving, and those are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, our form of government, peace and America. (Prolonged applause)

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Dedication of the 38th St. Tunnel
New York, New York
October 28, 1940

(The text of these remarks was not released to the press.)

I discovered, a good many years ago, that the Mayor of the City of New York keeps his word. That is why I am here today.

I am going to be very, very proud all my life of this ride that I am going to take. It will not be the kind of ride that people prophesy for me a week from tomorrow, but the ride I am going to take through the 38th Street Tunnel -- that is something I will always remember.

In taking that ride, there will come back to me all kinds of memories about the last eight years, memories of people put to work and the saving of one of the most dangerous situations this country has ever been in.

I will visualize public works of every kind, a great many here in the city. But remember that in the State of New York alone there are sixty-two counties and every county has, not one but dozens of useful things that have been built, built with the cooperation of the local authorities, built, in other words, to meet the demand or the request of the locality. Those things were not foisted on the locality by some Federal Government official, but were asked for by the locality as something that the community needed.

And that has been done, not only through the lending agencies of the Government, but also through the agencies that were directly started to give work to people.

I do not go so far -- because I have lived too long and

perhaps I have had too much experience -- I do not go so far as to promise to every man, woman and child in the United States that in the next four years they will all of them have private employment. I could not do that honestly and I could not say that honorably.

But I do say something that you know, that so far as employment and work goes today, things are infinitely better than they were in the spring of 1933, and I believe your Government, your various forms of government, are working so well today, cooperating so finely, that you are going to see an increase in the existing increased employment; you are going to see a very substantial decrease among the ranks of the unemployed.

We are coming along -- we are coming along pretty well. We are going pretty fast. We are not promising Utopia or the millenium in the next four years, but we are asking you to look at what has been done and the humanitarian impulses that lie behind what has been done.

And so, my friends -- I did not know until three minutes ago that this grand crowd would be here to say "Howdy-do" -- let me tell you once more how thrilling it is going to be to go through that tunnel, and I hope to come back to New York many times and see this magnificent link between two of the principal boroughs of this great city.

Thank you.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Queens Bridge Housing Project
New York, New York
October 28, 1940

(The text of these remarks was not released to the press.)

I am very, very grateful to all of you.

I remember this place when there was just a little fence around it and some remains of some very old buildings. This is something that makes me think that all of this country must go forward with this kind of social progress. We have accomplished some of it in a great many places but there is still a great deal more to do. Nobody knows that better than I do.

All I can tell you is that I hope you, the families who live here, will put your shoulder to the wheel and see that a lot of other families who need better housing conditions work for it and fight for it and sustain all of the public officials throughout the Union, who are working for a better America. (Applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
ROOSEVELT PARK, NEW YORK CITY,
OCTOBER 28, 1940.

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I am very glad to come back here. I shall never forget when, four years ago, thousands of school children, here in front of me, repeated that splendid oath to the flag.

When I come down in this part of New York, as I have for well over a quarter of a century, I am reminded of the old prayer which says: "Fashion, God, fashion into one happy people the multitudes brought hither from many kindreds and tongues." For, my friends, that is America.

Every time I come back here I get just a little choky feeling -- it is something that grips my heart a little more each time.

And so, let me say with you, God bless America.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Fordham College
New York, New York
October 28, 1940

(The text of these remarks was not released to the press.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY, THE ARCHBISHOP; MY FRIEND, THE RECTOR, AND MY
FRIENDS:

An old alumnus of yours is back again for the first time in a great many years; back again, very proud and happy to have the opportunity of reviewing this brigade -- battalion, I should say; I always get mixed up in military terms, being a mere Navy man -- this battalion of which I have heard so much. And I should like to come back again and see more of the work of the battalion and of the University.

I think the suggestion of the Rector, made to my mother about the sherry, would be very welcome on this cold afternoon, had I the time to accept his kind invitation. But I hope that, if he should ask me to spend the night, he would not ask me to sleep on George Washington's pillow.

I am glad to be here to say just one word to you young men who are members of the battalion:

You know of our great national preparedness program. You know why we are undertaking it, why we are undertaking this muster. I like to call it "muster" because it is an old word that goes back to the earliest colonial days of America, where every able-bodied man had an obligation to serve his community or his Colony in case of attack.

We have mustered a very large number of young men. We

have done it because, primarily, we want to have them trained in the things that are needed in the event of attack, because we feel that in their training we are safeguarding against possible attack the lives of all of the other men in America, the lives of all the women in America and of all the children. Therefore, this training to make you able to use these new facilities of warfare is to teach you how best to defend America. That is our great objective.

I am proud of your record of fifty years. I am glad to see you today, and I am especially happy to be here on this glorious day in October, at the beginning of your centenary. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the Departmental Auditorium
Department of Labor Building, Washington, D.C.
On occasion of the drawing of numbers under the
Selective Service Training Act of 1940
October 29, 1940, 12.00 M.

Members of your Government are gathered here in (the) this Federal Building in Washington to witness the drawing of numbers as provided for in the Selective Service Act of 1940.

This is a most solemn ceremony. It is accompanied by no fanfare -- no blowing of bugles or beating of drums.

And there should be none.

We are mustering all our resources, manhood and industry and wealth to make our nation strong in defense. For recent history proves all too clearly, I am sorry to say, that only the strong may continue to live in freedom and in peace.

We are well aware of the circumstances -- the tragic circumstances in lands across the seas -- which have forced upon our nation the need to take measures (for) of total defense.

In the considered opinion of the Congress of the United States this selective service provides the most democratic as well as the most efficient means for the mustering of our man power.

On October sixteenth, more than sixteen million young Americans registered for service. Today begins that selection from this huge number, the selection of (the) eight hundred thousand who will go into training for one year.

Reports from all over the country attest the quality and the general spirit of the young men who registered for service.

The young men of America today have thought this thing through.

They have not been stimulated by or misled by militarist propaganda. They fully understand the necessity for national defense and are ready, as all citizens of our country must be, to play their part in it.

They know simply that ours is a great country -- great in perpetual devotion to the cause of liberty and justice, great in faith that always there can be, and must be, (will be) a will to a better future. They know that in the present world the survival of liberty and justice is dependent on strength to defend against attack.

Briefly and in simplest terms, the processes of the selection are these: Each registrant in each of sixty-five hundred local areas has been assigned a number at random, assigned to him by a committee or board of his neighbors. Each man's number in each local board area has been officially (and permanently) recorded as pertaining exclusively to him in that area. Those numbers run from one to seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-six. Opaque capsules, each containing a different number, have been placed in a glass bowl in the room where we now stand. These capsule numbers also run from one to seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, with a few extra higher numbers to allow for late registration. One capsule at a time will be drawn from the bowl until none is left (in it). As each capsule is drawn it will be opened and its number read over the radio to the listening nation.

I would emphasize this also: The total drawing will be 10% of all those registered. Thus, 90% of those who enrolled will be assured that they can continue in their present private and public occupations. And of the more than sixteen million names which will come out of the bowl, more than half of them will soon know that their

Government does not require their active service - - - ~~I made a mistake there; I am afraid it is the fault of the copy.~~ Of the more than one million, six hundred thousand, more than half of that one million, six hundred thousand will soon know that their Government does not require their active service. In other words, less than 5% of the total of the mustered man power of sixteen million will be called. Over 95% will not be called.

here

I have ~~three~~ letters -- because I think that a great deal of the spiritual power of our nation is represented here today -- three letters from representatives of the three great faiths, Protestant, (and) Jewish and Catholic. They were written to me, in solemn recognition of this occasion, and I (wish) want to read you brief excerpts from them.

The first is from Dr. George A. Buttrick, the President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. (I quote:)

He says:

"The twenty-two national communions.....are united in a deep interest in the thousands of men called today to national service. We will give our best assistance in providing the ministries of the Christian faith. They shall be encompassed by friendship.....We assure all men in the Army and Navy of our active comradeship and prayer. We are glad that the rights of sincere conscientious objectors have been recognised in the Selective Service Act."

The next letter is from Dr. Edward L. Israel, President of the Synagogue Council of America. (I quote:) He says:

"It is my supreme confidence that you, Mr. President, and the military officials of our nation will be ever mindful of the fact that this peacetime Selective Service System is an extraordinary measure in the interest of preserving democracy, and that the System will therefore be administered so as to deepen in the minds

and hearts of our youth, a love and respect for democracy and our democratic institutions.....And it must never be forgotten that democracies cannot indefinitely endure under a war system -- and that the ultimate goal of a free people rallying to National Defense must ever be to help usher in that day when the prophetic ideal will be realized that 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they make war any more.'

And (now) finally a letter from the Bishop of the Catholics in the Army and Navy of the United States, His Excellency, The Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman. (I quote:) He says:

"I do believe: It is better to have protection and not need it than to need protection and not have it. I do believe that Americans want peace but that we must be prepared to demand it; for other people have wanted peace and the peace they received was the peace of death.

"I do feel that our good will and the sincerity of our desire for peace have been demonstrated by our action in sinking many battleships and that no more sincere demonstration of a willingness to lead the way toward universal disarmament could have been given by any people.

"But we really cannot longer afford to be moles who cannot see, or ostriches who will not see. For some solemn agreements are no longer sacred, and vices have become virtues and truth a synonym of falsehood.

"We Americans want peace and we shall prepare for a peace, but not for a peace whose definition is slavery or death."

These three letters give eloquent testimony to the quality of the religious faith (which) that inspires us today and forever.

To these spokesmen for the churches of America -- to all my fellow countrymen of all races and creeds and ages -- I give this solemn assurance:

Your Government is mindful of its profound responsibility to and for all the young men who will be called to train for our national service.

Your Government is aware that not only do these young men represent the future of our country: they are the future. They must

profit as men by this one year of experience as soldiers. They must return to civilian life strong, and healthy, and self-respecting, and decent and free.

Your Government will devote its every thought, its every energy, to the cause that is common to all of us -- the maintenance of the dignity, the prosperity and the peace of our country.

To the young men themselves I should like to speak, to speak as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army:

You who will enter this peacetime army will be the inheritors of a proud history and an honorable tradition.

You will be members of an army which first came together to achieve independence and to establish certain fundamental rights for all men. Ever since that first muster, our democratic army has existed for one purpose only: the defense of our freedom.

It is for that one purpose and that one purpose only that you (have been) will be asked to answer the call to training.

You have answered that call, as Americans always have, and as Americans always will, until the day when war is forever banished from this earth.

You have the confidence, and the gratitude, and the love of your countrymen. We are all with you in the task which enlists the services of all Americans -- the task of keeping the peace in this New World of ours.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
NEW HAVEN, CONN., OCTOBER 30, 1940.

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It is very good of you to come out on this very rainy day and I appreciate it.

I am particularly happy to be here today because yesterday I wasn't sure that I could come. I have had, as you know, certain responsibilities that go with the office and within the past few days, we are afraid, another conflict has broken out.

There have been a great many conflicts that have broken out so far but I notice that in all of them the United States has managed to keep clear and not get into war.

Yesterday we had a very impressive ceremony in Washington -- the drawing of the numbers. As you and I know, with this great armament program on the mechanical side -- the building of all of these munitions in which Connecticut is taking her full part -- with all that, we have to have trained people to handle them in case of emergency.

And so we have started to train more men -- not that we expect to have to use them.

It is just for the same reason that you have got umbrellas up today -- so as not to get wet.

And, incidentally, I think you realize that all this talk about sending American boys to Europe -- well, it does not conform with either the facts of the past or the facts of the future.

What a pity it is that there should be, even in a national campaign, an injection of fear -- fear into the hearts of American citizens -- fears about things that do not exist. What a pity it is! That is something we should repeat to ourselves over and over again. The only thing we have to fear in America is fear itself. If we had had fear in the past seven years we would not have passed the great measures of social justice for the workers of the land, measures that are now on the statute books, measures which the working people in Connecticut appreciate because they helped them in their lives and in their homes.

I wish I could have driven through New Haven and seen a lot of places that I have been to many times before. Thanks very much for coming out. Win or lose, I hope to see you again.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Meriden, Connecticut
October 30, 1940

You know, I had hoped that I could motor through this part of Connecticut. I want to see more of the great work that all of you people are doing for defense all through Connecticut. We are very proud of it.

I am glad to have this chance to stop over just for a minute because it is Frank Maloney's old home town.

Thanks for coming out on this rainy day. I hope to come back again soon.

I am glad to have this youngster, who is to become your next Governor, here on the platform with me.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
HARTFORD, CONN., OCTOBER 30, 1940.

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This is a very good omen. If you will remember, four years ago I was on this spot and it was a rainy day. And you remember what Connecticut did the next week.

You know, I was saying to your Senator that where I live, on the back of my farm I can look into Connecticut. I know almost every road and every community in this State and so I have always thought of you in this State as my neighbors.

I want to say just two very simple things: First of all, here in this great insurance center of the United States there are people in every single one of the 48 states who hold policies in your insurance companies. It makes me very sad to know, in view of history and present facts, that there are many executives of insurance companies who are trying to spread fear -- not just here in Hartford, not just in Connecticut but among the policy holders in every part of the Union.

Let me go back: In 1932, the insurance companies -- and I had been in the surety business, so I know -- if you had tried to liquidate them for the benefit of the policy holders, they would have come out in the red. Why? Because the assets which they carried on the farms and other properties throughout this country were down at values so low that they could not have got their money back. What did we do? You know!

It was just like that with the banks. The banks folded up in this country before I took office. Where are they today?

Therefore I say that on the part of these men who are trying to instill fear in the policy holders throughout the United States, it is the most dastardly and the most unpatriotic action of any Americans I know of.

Of course it is only part and parcel of an election or campaign but you and I know that those things, those false statements, leave scars and what I am working for is the unity of the Americas, especially the unity of American people in this great program of defense. And I want to take off my hat to the State of Connecticut because of the splendid cooperative effort that all the workers of this State in hundreds and hundreds of factories are making. The result of that effort is to make the United States strong enough in order to defend itself from attack from the outside.

And you know, too, that we aim to defend only against an attack from the outside.

Almost every year that has passed, sometimes every few minutes, some responsibility has fallen on me to avoid entangling alliances or entangling actions that might lead this country into war. I notice that for seven and one-half years, nearly eight, the United States not only has remained at peace, not only has kept free from any entanglements, but the United States today is at peace and is going to remain at peace.

And so I am glad that we have had this day with a drizzle because it is a great omen of what is going to happen next Tuesday.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
WORCESTER, MASS., OCTOBER 30, 1940.

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I wish I could see all you good people around on the left-hand side of the train. This particular park needs enlarging.

I am very glad to be back in Massachusetts where, as you know, I spent a good many years of the earlier part of my life.

I have had a great day. It is rather a coincidence that when I was in the Connecticut Valley four years ago, it was a day just like this is -- and we carried Connecticut.

And it is also a coincidence that when I was in Worcester in the daytime eight years ago it was a day just like this -- and we carried Massachusetts.

I have been combining business with pleasure today. I have been seeing some of the great defense work that is going on further west down the River in Springfield, and I know that this State is doing its full share in building up our national defenses.

I just want to say one thing to you -- and I know you realize it -- and that is that our defense efforts are for defense and nothing else.

And another thing I know you realize also is that in these troubled days in the world, the surest and safest way to maintain peace is an adequate defense -- and we are getting it.

It is good to see you. Thank you for coming out on this rainy day. Some time, I hope, I will come back here when the sun is shining and there is no election on. But just so long as it happens to be election year -- I may be just a little superstitious -- I hoped that it would rain and it did.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Boston Garden, Boston, Massachusetts
October 30, 1940, 10.15 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF NEW ENGLAND:

I've had a glorious day here in New England. (Applause)
(I've looked forward to coming here to Boston.) And I do not need to tell you that I have been glad to come back to my old stamping ground in Boston. (But) There's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight, without getting a chance to go into my two favorite states (--) of Maine and Vermont. (Laughter and applause)

This is the third inning.

In New York City two nights ago, I showed by the cold print of the Congressional Record how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing politics with national defense.

Even during the past three years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a Party team.

Time after time, Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team. (Applause)

(These) Those side line critics are now saying that we are not doing enough for our national defense. I say to you that we are going full speed ahead! (Applause)

Now, let us take them up in turn:

Our Navy, our Navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this Administration came into

office seven and a half years ago, we began to build the Navy up -- to build a bigger Navy.

And in those seven years we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 ships in commission today. (Applause)

And, in addition to that, we have 119 more ships that are actually under construction today.

In those seven years we raised the personnel of (the) our Navy from 106,000 to 210,000 today. (Applause)

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard. (Applause) And that is only one of many Navy yards -- one of the best. (Applause) There are now six times as many men employed in (all) our Navy yards as there were back there in 1933. And the private ship-building yards are also humming with activity -- building ships for our Navy and also for (our) that new expanding merchant marine of ours.

^{know}
Well, you/and I know -- they know out on the farms of the Middle West that the construction of this Navy has been a monumental job. And, in spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail order catalogue. (Applause)

We have not only added ships and men to the Navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of Naval bases in (our) those outlying territories of ours in the Atlantic and Pacific.

For our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we possibly can.

And you here in New England know well and can visualize it.

And within the past two months your Government has acquired new Naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean,

(They) extending all the way from Newfoundland in the north to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away. (Applause)

And so I repeat to you: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we possibly can.

That is the record, the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. (Applause) Side-line critics may carp in a political campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record and Americans will put their country first and partisanship second. (Applause)

(And) Go back to the old Congressional Record: Speaking of partisanship, I remind you -- when the Naval Expansion Bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican members of the Congress voted against building any (additional) more battleships.

What kind -- what kind of political shenanigans are (these) those? (Applause)

Can (such people be trusted) we trust those people with national defense? (Cries of "No.")

(We are also expanding our army.) Next, take up the Army: Under normal conditions we have no need for a (large) vast Army in this country. But you and I know that unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

Since (the) that day, a little over a year ago, when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our regular Army. Adding to this the Federalized National Guardsmen, our armed land forces

now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men. And yet there are armies overseas that run four and five and six million men.

The officers and men of (our) this Army of ours, the regular Army, and the National Guard, I say, are the finest in the world.

And they will be, as you know, the nucleus for the training of the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act, 800,000 of them in the course of this year out of nearly 17,000,000 registered -- in other words, a little less than 5 per cent of the total registration.

General Marshall (has) said to me the other day that the task of training (these) those young men is, for the Army, a "profound privilege." (Applause)

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people when they make false statements about the Army's equipment. I say to you that we are supplying our Army with the best fighting equipment in all the world.

Yes, the Army and the Defense Commission (is) are getting things done (with) by speed and efficiency. More than eight billion dollars of ~~contracts~~ for defense (contracts) have been let in the past few months.

And I am afraid that (these) those campaign orators will pretty soon -- if they keep on much further -- they will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of (eating their words) coming down to Washington later on and eating their words. (Applause)

And I cannot help but feel that the most inexcusable, the most unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our Army -- a misstatement calculated to worry the mothers of the Nation -- is the brazen charge

that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact, the provable fact is that construction on Army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all (present) needs, and that by January fifth, next, there will be complete and adequate housing in this Nation for nine hundred and thirty thousand soldiers.

(Applause)

And so I feel that very simply and very honestly I can give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed and well fed.

Throughout (the one) that year of (their) training, there will be constant promotion of their health and their well-being.

And while I am talking to you (mothers and) fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again:

Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

(Applause)

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense. (Applause)

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan (laughter) about our Army and Navy, they are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress of the United States were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

And so I have to say again, What kind of political shenan-

gans are these?

Can such people be trusted, trusted with national defense?

I say no! (Audience: "No!")

I am stressing, of course, rightly, (particularly) what every Army and Navy flier tells us -- that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane and engine factories. That ought to be almost a first-grade lesson.

We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. And day (and night) by day we are working and making very rapid progress toward that goal. (Applause)

(You)
For example, the/citizens of Seattle, Washington, you citizens of Washington who are listening tonight -- you have watched the Boeing plant out there grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

And you citizens of Southern California, you can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in (that period) less than a year.

And you citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped (to) twelve times its level of a year ago. (Applause)

And, of course, (I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes!) we are training the young men and training them successfully in sufficient numbers to fly these planes as soon as they come off the lines. (Applause)

But planes won't fly without engines. You citizens of Hartford, where I was this morning, you who hear my words: look across the Connecticut River at the whirring wheels and the beehive of activity

which is the Pratt and Whitney plant (which) that I saw (today). A year ago (this) that plant was producing airplane engines totaling one hundred thousand horsepower a month. Today (this) that production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to one million horsepower a month.

And you citizens of Paterson, New Jersey, you can see the Curtiss-Wright plant which a year ago produced two hundred seventy thousand horsepower a month and this October -- this month -- is producing 859,000 horsepower.

And so, just one more figure, in ten months, in the past ten months, (we have) this Nation has increased our engine output for planes 240 per cent, and I am proud of it.

Remember, too, that we are scattering them all over the country. (And) We are building brand new plants for airplanes and for airplane engines in places besides the Pacific Coast and this coast. We are also building them in centers in the Middle West (far from the coast).

Last spring, (and) last winter, within a year ago this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for planes (to go) from overseas, we are following and were following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the British on the other side of the ocean are (now) receiving a steady stream of airplanes. (Applause) And after three months of blitzkrieg in the air over there, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the attack began. (Applause) And they know and we know that that (This) increase in strength despite battle losses is

due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries and American progress.

Tonight I am privileged to make an announcement, using Boston instead of the White House: The British within the past few days have (now) asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. (Applause) And I have asked that (the) that request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board. (Applause) I have asked the Priorities Board to give it that consideration, the Board made up (consisting) of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When (these) those additional orders are approved, as I hope they will be, they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. (Applause) And we must remember that these orders (They) will require still more new plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes (both for the United States and Great Britain) will not be interrupted.

With that request has come orders, (Also) large additional orders, (are being) negotiated for artillery, for machine guns, for rifles, (and) for tanks with equipment and ammunition. And again the plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency. (Applause)

The productive capacity of the United States that I talk about, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, (will) is not failing now. It (will make) is going to make us -- it is making us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise! (Applause)

I have been glad in the past two or three days to welcome back, back to the shores of America, (to our own shores) that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston and a lot of other places, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy. (Applause)

Actually on the scene, on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs ^{were} dropping day and night for many months, he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar -- that all of the smaller independent nations of Europe -- Sweden and Switzerland and Greece and Ireland and the others -- all of them have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might. (Cries of "Boo!")

And so, my friends, we (can) are building up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency for a very good reason, the reason of the possibility of real national danger to us; but (they) these defenses will (still) be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic and social justice. (Applause)

When this Administration first came to office, the foundation of (our) that national morale was crumbling. In the panic, (and) in the misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.

What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and the daily work of the common man.

I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the (country) Nation -- the condition of labor and the condition of business.

They are even more ridiculous when they shed (these) those

old crocodile tears over the plight of the American farmer.

Now, if there is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in (November) October and up to Election Day, it is the farmer.

And the first one that he forgets after Election Day is the farmer. (Laughter)

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer -- not just the western farmer, but the New England farmer -- during the period between 1920 and 1933 -- declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts -- ten-cent corn and twenty-cent wheat and five-cent cotton and three-cent hogs? I said it to you in 1936 and it is just as true today in the history of this country as it was then.

(They) But before 1933 the Administration did nothing to stop (this) that slide. But, of course, before every Election Day they always uncork(ed) the old bottle of soothing syrup and spread it thick. (Laughter and applause)

Why, the farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

(Here it is:) For instance:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in (1932) '32.

And farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929. (Applause)

Tens of thousands of (farms) farmers have (been) had their farms saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low income farmers have (obtained) been able to obtain credit from the Government, (which) credit they could

get nowhere else. And, incidentally, credit which they are repaying.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

And over 6,000,000 farmers -- that's a lot of farmers --
over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than
three and a half billion dollars. (Applause)

Well, what does it all (this) add up to? It means an agri-
culture (which) that is strong and vigorous.

And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts
and the practical vision of Henry Wallace. (Applause)

The people of New England, whether they live in the city or
out in the country, they know full well that if the farmers' income
in this Nation had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying
fewer shoes and fewer watches and ice boxes, less woolen goods, (and)
less cotton goods, than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean
more employment, more prosperity for the workers and the businessmen
of New England, and of every industrial area in (America) the whole
country.

And so we are still striving for the goal -- parity -- the
proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy --
that will continue to be our guiding principle.

Why, we now have great stocks of wheat and corn and cotton --
in a sense really strategic materials in a world that is threatened
(with) by war.

But surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to
feed the hungry and the ill-nourished and that is a fact that is diffi-
cult for the old Republican orators to deny. (Applause)

And just one little item on that: Our school luncheon

program (applause) why, that will (this year) reach three million children with milk and other foods this year. And milk does those children (much) more good than political soothing syrup. (Applause)

And, while this was being done, what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933, Republicans in the Congress, in both houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act (by) in the House of Representatives, 88 to 52.

In (1936) '36, they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (by), 75 to 25.

In 1938, they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act (by), 84 to 15.

And even in 1940, this year, they voted against parity payments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the spring of this year, they voted overwhelmingly against the Stamp Plan, the Stamp Plan to distribute food to needy people through a private grocery store(s).

No, the American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates, patting cows and pitching hay in front of moving picture cameras. (Prolonged laughter and applause)

And even since the Convention in Philadelphia, all the sweet words of the Republican leaders (in Philadelphia last June -- they were not) in that Convention have not been worth the paper they were written on.

For listen to this: Last summer, only a few weeks after the Republican National Platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers, the Republican members of the House marched right back

into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers, to the tune of 106 to 37. (Laughter) (They voted against them by a vote of)

Now, among the Republican leaders, among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill for the United States was the present Chairman of the Republican National Committee, that "peerless leader," (the) that "farmers' friend" -- Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts. (Boos)

I would not single him out except that he is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican National Chairman there was pinned on him the following (this) handsome verbal bouquet, this expensive orchid: he was called, (was pinned upon him:) "In public life for many years Joe Martin has represented all that is finest in American public life."

Considering the source of that orchid, Martin (may) must be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look for a minute at the voting record of this gentleman, this representative of what they call, "all that is finest in American public life."

Martin voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the National Securities Exchange Act, and the extension of the (C.C.C.) Civilian Conservation Corps Act. He voted against practically all relief and work relief measures, and against the appropriation for rural electrification.

Martin voted against the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act. (Boos)

So, what I particularly want to say on the radio to the farmers of the Nation, and to you here in this Hall, is that Republican

National Chairman Martin voted against every single one of the farm measures that were recommended by this Administration. (Cry of "Throw him a fish," accompanied by laughter) But wait a minute! Perhaps (he) Brother Martin will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of his party by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture. (Laughter)

And I still remember from two nights ago, he is one of that great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture, Martin, Barton & Fish. (Applause and laughter)

I have to let you in on a secret. (Laughter) It will come as a great surprise to you. And it's this:

I'm enjoying this campaign. And I'm really having a fine time. (Laughter and applause)

But I think you know that the office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily (upon) on all of us.

But -- there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the old world.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Scandinavian and Slav -- we are American. (Applause) We belong to many races and colors and creeds -- we are American. (Applause)

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around Election Day. (Applause)

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves -- voters

and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in all the world today -- the fact that democracy is alive -- (it) is alive and going strong. (Applause)

Yes, we are telling the world that we are free -- and we intend to remain free and at peace.

We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and with courage. We are American. (Prolonged applause)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered on the Occasion of the Dedication of the
National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland
October 31, 1940, 4.15 P.M.

MR. COY, DR. THOMPSON AND THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, GOVERNOR O'CONNOR,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Nowhere in the world except in the Americas is it possible for any nation to devote a great sector of its effort to life conservation rather than (to) life destruction.

All of us are grateful that we in the United States can still turn our thoughts and our attention to those institutions of our country (which) that symbolize peace -- institutions whose purpose it is to save life and not to destroy it. It is for the dedication of these noble buildings to the service of man that we are assembled here today.

The National Institute of Health speaks the universal language of humanitarianism. It has been devoted throughout its long and distinguished history to furthering the health of all mankind, in which service it has recognized no limitations imposed by international boundaries; and has recognized no distinctions of race, (of) or creed, or (of) color.

The total defense that we have heard so much about of late, that total defense which this nation seeks involves a great deal more than building airplanes, and ships, and guns and bombs.

For we cannot be a strong nation unless we are a healthy nation. And so we must recruit not only men and materials but also knowledge and science in the service of national strength. (This) And that is what we are doing here.

We have recognized the strategic importance of health by the creation of a Health and Medical Committee in the Council of National Defense itself. (whose job it is to coordinate) That Committee has the job of coordinating the health and medical aspects of national preparedness. This Committee is assisting the Government in the mobilization of the medical and health resources of the country to serve the best interests both of the military and the civilian elements of the nation.

To do this will require the best energies of (the) professional and technical leadership (of our country) everywhere in the United States.

To do this will require the fullest cooperation between the Government and the hospitals, the medical, dental, nursing and other professions. We seek the same partnership that we seek for industrial production in the Advisory (Commission) Committee.

Neither the American people nor their Government intend to socialize medical practice any more than they plan to socialize industry. In American life the family doctor, the general practitioner, performs a service which we rely upon and which we trust as a nation.

No one has a greater appreciation than I of the skill and self-sacrifice of the medical profession. And there can be no substitute for the personal relationship between doctor and patient which is a characteristic and a source of strength of medical practice in our land.

Although we have (still much) a great deal to do, the nation today, I am very certain, is better prepared to meet the public health

problems of our emergency than at any previous time in the history of the country.

Since the passage of the famous Social Security Act with its health provisions in 1935, Federal and State and local health and medicine are cooperating more broadly than ever before.

Our people are better informed on health matters than ever before.

Scientific knowledge of the causes of disease and also the conditions for health has exceeded any previous limits.

Facilities for health and medical service are more numerous and they are better.

The Public Health Service of the United States is (an) a very old institution and it has done magnificent work but it is only recently, in the past few years, that the Federal Government has indicated that it can do infinitely more -- that disease disregards state lines as well as national lines -- and that among the states there is, as we know, an inequality of opportunity for health -- (and that) in such cases the Public Health Service (must help) is helping and must continue even more greatly to help.

That partnership -- and I emphasize that word in regard to health and medicine throughout the land -- that partnership is making definite progress (against) among many diseases.

Among the buildings of the National Institute of Health to be dedicated here today stands the National Cancer Institute, created through provisions of the Act which I signed on August 5, 1937.

The work of this new Institute is well under way. It is promoting and stimulating cancer research throughout the nation; it

is bringing to the people of the nation a message of hope because many forms of the disease are not only curable but even preventable. Beyond this, it is doing research here and in many universities to unravel the mysteries of cancer. I think we can all have faith in the ultimate results of these great efforts.

These buildings, (which) that we dedicate, represent(s) new and improved housing for an institution (which) that has a long and distinguished background of accomplishment in this task of research.

The original demonstration of the cause and method of (prevention of) preventing pellagra, for example, has been followed by other important contributions. Great work has been done in the control of tularemia, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, typhus fever, yellow fever, malaria, and psittacosis.

Now that we are less than a day by plane from the jungle-type yellow fever of South America, less than two days from the sleeping sickness of equatorial Africa, less than three days from cholera and bubonic plague, the ramparts we watch must be civilian in addition to being military. (Applause)

For the very beautiful and very spacious grounds on which these buildings stand we are indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Luke (I.) Wilson, (applause) who wrote to me in 1935 asking if ^apart of their estate at Bethesda, in Maryland, could be used to the benefit of the people of this nation.

I would tell her now that, as she sits beside me (that) in (their) the compassion of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson for suffering, in their hope for human action to alleviate it, she and her husband symbolize the aspirations of millions of Americans for a cause such

as this, and we are very grateful. (Applause)

Today the need for the conservation of health and physical fitness is greater than at any time in the nation's history. In dedicating this Institute, I dedicate it to the underlying philosophy of public health; to the conservation of life, to the wise use of the vital resources of (our) the nation.

I voice for America, and for the stricken world, our hopes, our prayers, our faith in the power of man's humanity to man.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music
Brooklyn, New York
November 1, 1940, 9.00 P.M., E.S.T.

MRS. BURKE, GOVERNOR LEBMAN, MR. KELLY:

Here I am, back in Brooklyn today. You know, old-fashioned sentiment!

Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. It has brought me back again to this old Brooklyn Academy of Music on the Friday night before election. (Applause)

This is a (strange) funny campaign. It is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the day of election and it is still impossible to determine what are the principles of the opposition party. (Applause) And just what is it -- what is it that the Republican leaders would do during the next four years if they were given a chance? (Applause)

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On a Monday we hear that this Administration has done a good job (with) in its foreign policy; but on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States are condemned.

And on ^aWednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole. (Laughter)

And so it goes. On a Friday we are treated to the encouraging thought that the social gains of labor during the past seven years should be continued; and on Saturday we are told to weep because labor

has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal. (Laughter)

To one group, further and bigger relief is held out; and to the big taxpayers cuts in expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; and the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbor(s) nations to the south of us.

That is the way that they seek to catch a vote here and catch a vote there and pick one out of the air. (Applause)

There is, however, one explanation for these contradictions, rather a sad explanation. (That explanation) It is (found in the) founded on a strange, (the) a very strange assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in the Republican political dormitory. (Laughter)

Many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes have been thrown together under one political roof.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose that they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal -- lock, stock and barrel -- and to get control of Government, your Government, into their own hands for their own purposes.

Just as they have not been able to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this only common purpose of theirs upon the American people now. (Applause)

Yes, I think we will all see to that next Tuesday. (Applause)

You and I, all of us, we (all) know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, (and) but who died a tragic death when

they put him on a Scotch plaid. (Laughter and applause) We all know what would happen to Government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican Party.

There is something very ominous in this combination (which) that has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite -- we know that -- unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends that they, each of them, seek.

No elements in American ^{public} life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance (against) between each other. (Applause)

Now, I do not think that some of the men, even (some) of (the) their leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

And I am very certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat.

They should remember, and we must remember, what the collaborative understanding between Communism and Nazism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears -- where of all places? -- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party. (Boos)

Yes, something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations (which) that make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

(These) Those forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Yes, their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and (purposeful) powerful. We are strong and purposeful now and intend to remain so. (Applause)

Back in the 20's, in the years after the last World War, Americans worked and built many things, but few of our people then stopped to think why they were working and why they were building and whither (they) we were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the Nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms threatened with foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land, resources being wasted -- soils and forests and minerals and water power.

There were millions of workers, unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the Nation, threatened by the monopolies of concentrated wealth.

And the savings of the many that were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose (these) those savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

Well, the crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years more the American Government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to bestir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world.

The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, or would not do, a democratic Government could do and would do!

(Applause)

You all know the history of recovery, beginning in 1933, and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it, and to turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run (it) again.

But they little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party, a rescue party to restore to a chosen few their old power over the people's savings, over the people's labor. over the people's lives.

We had seen social unrest at home and abroad -- the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy (which) that is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair (which) that dissolves civilization. What this Administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration and from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition that this Administration met in the first months, the early days of that year, when it was cleaning up the wreckage (which) that had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently, (and) more democratically, to fill the demands and needs of all the people of (America) this land. (Applause)

We understand the philosophy of those who offer resistance, (and) of those who conduct a counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition (which) that comes from -- shall I say, a subconscious resistance to any measure (which) that disturbs the position of privilege?

It is an unfortunate human failing, an unfortunate human failing that a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach. (Applause)

I am, as you know, a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

But, of course, if private opportunity is to remain safe, average men and women must be able to have it as a part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own stake in democracy.

(Applause)

And so, with that in (view) mind, we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as an heroic era -- an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past, but to build a future. (Applause)

(We) You and I have seen nations great and small go down in ruin, or get backed up, up against the wall, because the reactionary men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They were afraid of losing their own selfish privilege and power. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people, more than they feared the menacing might of foreign dictators.

From them, we in the United States take warning (here).

Most Republican leaders in our own country for the last seven years have bitterly fought (and), bitterly blocked that forward surge of average men and women in (the) their pursuit of happiness. And let us not be deluded that overnight those leaders have suddenly become the real friends of these average men and women.

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? (Cries of "No.") You know, very few of us are (so) that gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and the social objectives of the last seven years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that they even understand

what these social gains or social objectives have been. (Applause)

The (American) people throughout this country know how many and how difficult were the battles that we have fought and won in (the last) this past seven years.

Do you want to abandon the protection of people's savings from fraudulent manipulators, the curbing of giant holding companies that despoiled investors and consumers alike, to abandon by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought (these) those reforms? (Cries of "No.")

Do you want to abandon the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the Nation to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way? (Cries of "No.")

Do you want to abandon collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor? (Cries of "No.")

Or, do you want to hamstring the old-age pension system, or unemployment insurance, or aid for children, (and) or maternity welfare, or vocational training for the physically handicapped, or financial aid to the blind; do you want to hamstring them by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented (these) those reforms? (Cries of "No.")

Yes, do you want to abandon alum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against every appropriation(s) for decent housing? (Cries of "No.")

And, finally, do you want to turn over your Government to those who failed to have confidence in the future of America (and),

who now preach fear for the future of America? (Cries of "No.") And as an example of (this) that doctrine of fear, certain insurance companies are now sending letters to their policyholders, warning them that if this Administration is retained in office, their policies will shrink in value. (Boos)

(This) That is just another form of things we have seen before, another form, for instance, of that pay-envelope campaign -- that campaign of fear (like the one in) of the last week of 1936.

The fact is that the very existence of most of these insurance companies I speak of was saved by this Administration in 1933 (by this Administration). (Applause) And, incidentally, today, in 1940, they are (today fully) more solvent than they ever were in their lives before.

Why, if there were a vestige of truth in these dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United States Government would be selling at a very low (in) price, instead of well above par. Why, (The fact is, however, that) it was only last week (the Government of the United States) that the Treasury of the United States sold some one-year bonds, I believe they call them notes, one-year notes, to pay for public housing -- and they sold (one) a hundred million dollars worth of them at an interest rate of only one-quarter of one per cent. (Applause) (They were) And I must not forget to mention that that bond issue was over-subscribed eighteen times. That certainly indicates (the) a solidity, the safety of the credit of the United States. And if you need further proof, take a look at the Treasury of the Commonwealth and Southern System. (Boos) There you will find that they have bought and that they hold twenty-one million dollars worth of United

States Government (securities) bonds! (Applause -- cries of "Give it to them!")

Our program -- our program in the past, our program for the future, is, as you know, equality of economic opportunity. Such a program calls for many things. It requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This program entails old-age insurance and (un)employment insurance, operating on an increasingly wider base, so that eventually it will include every man and woman in the country. (Applause)

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, to consumers, and to small business. In fact, it has always seemed to me that our program starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

It curbs the old predatory activities of high finance and the activities of monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our (national) natural resources -- our national resources, I had better say -- are used for the benefit of the whole people -- and not exploited for the benefit of a few. (Applause)

And it provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands (to) on richer lands, and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

Now, monopoly does not like this program. And certain types of high finance do not like it. Most of the American plutocracy (does) do not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, continues to grow and to flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not in promoters' (tribute) profits. (Applause) That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers and the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play. (Applause)

We are a nation of many nationalities, a nation of many races, of many religions -- bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality. (Applause)

Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities. (Applause)

Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races. (Applause)

And whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religion. (Applause)

So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them on Election Day. But every American citizen -- realizing how precious is his right to the sacred secret ballot -- does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic politicians. The vote of Americans will be American -- and only American. (Applause)

The true attitude of some leaders of the Republican party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints, the restraints which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and suddenly

they misspeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day, a prominent leader of the Philadelphia bar, delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

"The President's only supporters," he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the Roosevelt family." (Boos)

I think we might just as well forget the Roosevelt family -- but (interrupted by laughter and applause) -- but these Americans whom this man calls "paupers," these Americans who, in his view, are not worth the income they receive, small though it is -- who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the Nation! They are only the common men and women who have helped to build this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose. (Prolonged applause)

Yes, the demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100 a month, they do not lose their devotion to social and economic justice. (Applause)

No, they do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I count among my supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates of their hearts and minds, and not by the size of their bank accounts. (Applause)

"Paupers" -- paupers who are not worth their salt -- there

speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership in this year of grace. (Boos)

And one more on that: Can the Republican leaders deny that all this all-too-prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious, unpatriotic appeal to class hatred, (to) and class contempt? (Applause)

So, my friends, that (my friends) is just what I am fighting against with all my heart and soul. (Applause)

I am fighting for a free America -- for a country in which all men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by special privilege -- government by lobbyists -- government vested in the hands of those who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictatorships.

I am fighting, as I (have) always have fought, for the rights of the little man as well as the big man (applause) -- yes, for the weak as well as the strong, for those who are helpless as well as (for) those who can help themselves. (Applause)

I am fighting to keep this Nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars (applause), and to keep (interrupted by applause) -- yes, and I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and I am also fighting to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States. (Applause)

I am fighting for these great and good causes. I am fighting to defend them against the power and against the might of those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting. (Prolonged applause)

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ROCHESTER, N. Y., November 2, 1940.

My friends of Rochester and of Western New York:

It is a very good omen today that it has been raining, because I remember four years ago I was here in Rochester and it was raining then. I said to you, "If you can take it, I can take it." And we know what Western New York did on Election Day in 1936.

I said last night that it is a curious campaign and I think you will agree with me because you and I in this State go back a good many years.

I want to call the attention of this State and of all other states to something that happens to be a very fortunate record, something that I do not boast about but something that happens to be true. I was Governor of this State, as you know, for four years. And during those four years, although in this State we had a good many causes of trouble, although we had a good many incipient problems where the peace might be disturbed, in those four years I never ordered out the National Guard of the State of New York to put down riots. And up to that time, in any four year occupancy of the Executive Mansion in Albany, that was an all-time record.

I have been now in Washington for seven and one-half years and it so happens that during those seven and one-half years, the Army of the United States and the Navy of the United States have never been called out, except in a cause of humanity.

Never once have they been called out to restore civil peace, to put down riots. The only times they have been called out have been, first, when a portion of southern California was visited by a grievous earthquake. It so happened that the Fleet of the United States was lying off-shore and within half an hour the men of that Fleet were in that area, taking care of the men, women and children, seeing to it that the injured were rushed to the hospital.

The other time that we remember was the time of the disastrous floods of a few years ago, especially the Ohio flood. And then not only the Army and the Navy of the United States but every other agency from the Red Cross down was sent out there to save human beings.

It seems to me that a fellow with that kind of a record over a good many years must have his feet on the ground -- and I don't believe he has his finger on the trigger.

More than that, your national Government down in Washington is equally, in all of its component parts, a Government of peace -- a Government that intends to retain peace for the American people.

As your great Secretary of State said last night -- just two little short sentences -- "Outstanding is the wholly unwarranted and utterly vicious charge that the President is leading us into war."

And then he said, "We are creating the weapons and the organization needed, first to discourage would-be assailants and, secondly, should we be assailed, to repel assailants."

That is the policy today, and you good people here understand it and you are doing your bit. You are producing all kinds of machines and tools and instruments that are needed for national defense.

And, as I said the other day, defense is not for aggression. Defense is for defense. You can't change the English language, even if you are a leader on the other side.

I think the good railroad people will give me a minute more to tell you a story:

A few days ago, about a week ago, a person very high in Republican circles, a man, in fact, who is in charge of the Republican national campaign, was holding a press conference -- and I am telling you this story to illustrate some of the things that lie behind these vicious misrepresentations, not of the Democratic candidate, not of any individual, not of a ticket, but of the Government of the United States. And what did he say? At the end of his press conference this leader said: "Wait a minute, boys; wait a minute. I want to tell you something off the record and here it is. You must not attribute this to me. Oh, no. But you can spread it around; in effect, spread it around without putting the responsibility on me. Here it is: The President of the United States has already started the American Fleet westward from Hawaii in the direction, in the direction of the Far East. And that, as you know, would be regarded, properly, as a hostile act by Japan and would lead us into war."

And then this Republican leader went on and he said: "And the orders have been issued that the day after Election the whole of the United States Fleet will proceed further westward, out to the Philippines. And that, you know, would be an act of war against Japan."

Well, I am not stressing, because it is almost unnecessary, the fact that a portion of the American Fleet is on the West Coast, a portion on this Coast and a portion in Hawaii. None of it has gone west of Hawaii. But, aside from that falsehood, that falsehood that has been peddled out to the press of this country, peddled surreptitiously by the "don't quote me process" -- that kind of action is more dangerous to our peaceful international relations than anything that has ever been done in Washington by this Government.

And I can cite to you many, many other examples of rumors that have been started in the same rumor factory -- all of them untrue but every one of them tending to make people believe that this country is going to war.

Your President says this country is not going to war. And I feel quite certain that the good people of Rochester are going to resent unfounded charges, like the good people in every state of the Nation, next Tuesday, November 5th.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
BATAVIA, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 2, 1940.

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I just couldn't go through Batavia without stopping for a minute in a very crowded day.

I came here first on a campaign trip in 1912 and I have been coming back to Batavia, even for a short stop like this, on many occasions since. I have many, many friends among you good people in this town.

I am not going to talk politics. You know that your Administration is seeking, through armament, to provide an adequate defense against every possible attack. You know that your Administration is seeking, as it has for many, many years, the ways of peace, and you know that your Administration intends to keep you out of war.

It is good to see you.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
CURTISS-WRIGHT PLANT, BUFFALO, NEW
YORK, NOVEMBER 2, 1940.

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I can't see you all in the shops, but I have been through them and I am very much thrilled by what I have seen.

I told Jim Mead that one reason, the chief reason for these inspection trips all around the country is so that I can see with my own eyes what this new defense program means.

You know its objective. Its objective is to make democracy safe -- to save the United States from any kind of attack. I am very happy that the program is going ahead with such excellent speed. Speed is of the essence and I know that you good people are doing all you can to keep production going at the highest speed you can.

Many thanks.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
BELL AIRCRAFT PLANT, BUFFALO, NEW
YORK, NOVEMBER 2, 1940.

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I have been very thrilled in what I have just seen.

It seems to me that for a five year old child you
are all grown up and doing men's work and women's work too.

I know this plant is one of a number in the country
that are doing their bit 100% in getting us adequate defense.

And when I say defense, I mean defense, the kind of
defense that will keep this country from being attacked.

One of the most important things these days is the
air problem and here you are, turning out splendid planes so
that the people of this country can be very well satisfied with
what is going on in the aviation industry.

We still have to step it up and I say God bless you and
hurry up the good work. The quicker the better.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 2, 1940.

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Mayor Holling, my friends of Buffalo:

I am very much touched and I am made very happy by this resolution that comes to me from united labor. That is something that the United States has a right to be proud of.

I am happy to think that in these years labor has made progress. I have sought by every means to make that possible. And I believe that in the days to come united labor is going to make more progress. I believe that in the next four years we are going to do even greater things for the men, women and children in the United States than ever before.

We are going to give them better working conditions and better home conditions, better housing, and at the same time a more equitable and continuing wage.

You know, when I come to Buffalo I think that this City and your sister City of Detroit probably can be held up all over the United States as examples of just what this country is striving for for humanity -- just what this country is striving for in relations between all the nations of the world.

Here we are. I looked out of the train window this morning and I saw the Canadian shore and I wished that I could get out as far as Detroit and do the same thing. Here are these cities that look across a narrow strip of water and see another nation. We are not only at peace with that nation but in all of our personal relationships with that nation we have and we seek the kind of unarmed peace that we are looking for some day throughout the world.

I have been inspecting some plants this morning -- plants which are turning out weapons of war, pursuit airplanes. Why are we building them in such great quantities? It is because the world as a whole today is going through the kind of a storm that we hope will soon be over. But the fact remains that there is potential danger to America and we believe that the strongest way in which we can maintain peace is to be fully armed against any attack.

And we believe too, equally, that in arming against any possible attack we are going to preserve our democracy by preventing this country from being endangered by any other form of government than democracy.

Therefore, our eyes are on the goal of peace and this Administration will continue an eight year record of peace in the next four years.

I wish I could stay here in Buffalo longer, but, as you know, I cannot get too far off base. I have to be within a reasonable distance of Washington in order to help maintain peace. And so tonight I am going to Cleveland and back again, tonight, to Washington. I don't even dare to go back to Hyde Park, much as I would like to get home. To be away for six or seven days is a little bit more than the safety of the Nation will allow.

And so I am going back to Washington and then later to Hyde Park to vote.

I hope and I believe that this Administration will be able to keep this country at peace during the next four years and that we will be able to carry on for the country with the very great gains that have been made over these past seven and a half years.

I ask and I think I will get your help in that.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Dunkirk, New York
November 2, 1940

(These remarks were not released to the press.)

I wish I had time to stay longer but I could not go through Dunkirk without stopping for a moment.

This is one end of Chautauqua County that is very satisfactory on election day.

It is good to see you all and I will be back here some day. I always come, you know, campaign or no campaign.

I am a New Yorker. I know a good many of you personally and I think you can expect me to come through here as a tourist, or something like that, from the old Hudson River Valley and see old Chautauqua County.

We had a very wonderful day in Buffalo, and I saw a great deal that is being done in the cause of defense and peace.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
 ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA,
 November 2, 1940

I am glad to come back into Pennsylvania on the last Saturday before Election Day.

I have had a very wonderful day up in Buffalo, looking at some of the things that we are doing for defense, because we believe that in turning out airplanes we are helping in the defense of America against any possible aggression from overseas.

More than that, in creating that safety for us, we are preventing any other foreign form of government from coming to these shores.

I have a very old acquaintance with Erie because in the early days, when I was in the Navy Department, you good people turned out many things for the United States Navy and I am proud of that work.

This is a very curious campaign in more ways than one. It was a great Philadelphia lawyer who remarked the other day something about "paupers," and he called everybody a pauper who wasn't making more than twelve hundred dollars a year.

And I am interested to learn today in this same State of Pennsylvania that the Republican candidate for Senator -- United States Senator -- speaking at a rally in Pittsburgh on Thursday night, after mentioning two or three renegade Democrats who had left the party, proceeded to say, "The only people left to vote for Roosevelt are parasites and political hitchhikers."

Well, you and I constitute several tens of thousands of parasites and political hitchhikers in this one town in Pennsylvania.

In this campaign I have been reminded many times of what Lincoln said back in the days of 1864. Lincoln said, "God must love the common people because he made so many of them."

And so I believe, my friends, that in these next three days more and more people in the United States will come to the realization that we must go forward, go forward on behalf of the common people of America, go forward in the progress that we have made toward better lives and better living for them.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the public Auditorium
Cleveland, Ohio
November 2, 1940, 9.00 P.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In making this, my final national address of the campaign, I express once more my very deep regret that I could not carry out my wish to go to other states, other states in the great Middle West, in the South and across the Mississippi River. It has been solely in the interest of peace, (and) it has been solely in the maintenance of peace that your great Secretary of State and I have felt that we should both remain within easy distance of the National Capital in these trying days.

Tonight in Cleveland, I am happy, through this great audience of my old friends, to give this message to America. (Applause)

For the past seven years I have had the high honor and the grave responsibility of leadership of the American people. In (these) those seven years, the American people have marched forward, out of a wilderness of depression and despair.

They have marched forward right up to the very threshold of the future -- a future which holds the fulfillment of our hopes for real freedom, real prosperity, real peace.

I want that march to continue for four more years. (Applause)
And for that purpose, I (ask) am asking your vote of confidence.
(Applause)

Now, we know there are certain forces within our own national community, composed of men who call themselves American but who would destroy America. (Boos) They are the forces of dictatorship in our

(own) land -- on one hand (the Communists) Communism, and on the other the Girdlers. (Boos)

It is their constant purpose in this as in other lands to weaken democracy, to destroy the free man's faith in his own cause.

In this election all the representatives of those forces, without exception, are voting against the New Deal.

Yes, you and I (am) are proud of (this) that opposition.
(Applause) Because it is proof positive that what we have built, (and) what we have strengthened in the past seven years is democracy! (Applause)

This generation of Americans is living in a tremendous moment of history.

The surge of events abroad has made some few doubters among us ask: Is this the end of a story that has been told? Is the book of democracy now to be closed and placed away (up) on the dusty shelves of time? (Cries of "No, no.")

You are right! (My) The answer is (this) "No!" My answer also is this: All we have known of the glories of democracy -- its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common man -- all of these are merely an introduction to the greater story of a more glorious future.

And we Americans of today -- all of us -- ^{we}are characters in this living book of democracy.

But we are also its author. It falls upon us now to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or a story of continued advance. (Applause)

And so, with you again I believe that the American people will say: "Forward!" (Applause)

We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison -- it has been war.

And we look at the country in which we live. It is a great country, built by generations of peaceable friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith, faith that the good life can be (achieved) attained by those who will work for it. (Applause)

We know that we are determined to defend our country -- and with our neighbors to defend this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. And every hour and every day we grow stronger. (Applause)

Our foreign policy is shaped to express the determination of our Government and the will of our people in our dealings with other nations. Those dealings, in the past few years, have been more difficult, more complex than ever before (in our history).

But there is nothing secret about our foreign policy. It is not a secret from the American people -- and it is not a secret from any government anywhere in the world. (Applause) I have stated it many times before, not only in words but in action. (Applause) (I now re-state it.) Let me restate it like this:

The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. (Applause) And, at the same time, with that we seek to keep foreign conceptions of government out of the United States. (Applause)

That is why we make ourselves strong; that is why we muster all the reserves of our national strength.

And the second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemi-

sphere. (Applause) Our policy is to promote such friendly relations with the Latin-American Republics and with Canada, that the great powers of Europe and of Asia will know that they cannot divide the peoples of this hemisphere one from another. (Applause) And if you go from the North Pole you will know that that (it) is a policy of practical success. (Applause)

Finally, (also) our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations (which) that still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. (Applause)

(We make it clear) And let me make it perfectly clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement. (Applause)

We have the thought that in this Nation of many states we have found the way by which men of many racial origins may live together (at) in peace.

If the human race as a whole is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together (at) in peace. (Applause) We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny. (Applause)

We do know what would be the foreign policy of those who are doubters about our democracy.

We do not know what would be the foreign policy of those who are obviously trying to sit on both sides of the fence at the same time. (Applause) Ours is the foreign policy of an Administration which has (an) undying faith in the strength of our democracy today, full confidence in the vitality of our democracy in the future, and a consistent record in the cause of peace. (Applause)

No, our strength is measured not only in terms of the might

of our armaments. It is measured not only in terms of the horsepower of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies deeply imbedded in the social and economic justice of the system in which we live.

(Applause)

For you can build ships and tanks and planes and guns galore; but they will not be enough. You must place behind them an invincible faith, faith in the institutions which they have been built to defend.

(Applause)

The dictators have devised a new system -- or, rather, a modern, streamlined version of (an) a very ancient system.

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination or influence by Nazism or Communism (either). They will hesitate to support (these) those of whom they are not absolutely sure. (Applause)

For Americans are determined to retain for themselves the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly and the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own Government in free elections. (Applause)

We intend to keep our freedom -- to defend it (against) from attacks from without and against corruption from within. We shall defend it against the forces of dictatorship, whatever disguises and false faces they may wear. (Applause)

But we have learned (however) that freedom in itself is not enough.

Freedom of speech is of no use (to) if a man (who) has nothing to say. (Applause)

Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God. (Applause)

So, democracy, to be dynamic, must provide for its citizens opportunity as well as freedom.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of dynamic democracy in America in these past few years.

The American people have faced with courage the most severe problems of all of our modern history.

The start toward a solution of these problems had to be made seven years ago by providing the bare necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing. And the American people insisted that (these) those obligations were a concern of Government; they denied that the only solution was the poorhouse. (Applause)

Your Government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average men and women of America. And the reforms in our social structure that we have achieved -- these permanent reforms are your achievement. (Applause)

Yes, the New Deal has been the creation of you, the American people.

You provided work for free men (and) for free women in America who could find no work.

Idle men were given the opportunity on roads to be built, homes to be erected, rivers to be harnessed, (and) power to be made for farm and home and industry.

You used the powers of Government to stop the depletion of the top soil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into (our) the law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively, and you set up the machinery (interrupted by applause) -- yes, and you set up the machinery to enforce that right. (Applause)

You turned to the problems of youth and age. You took your children (from) out of the factory and shop and outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave to those children the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of an even fuller and brighter day for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided chances for jobs and for education. And for old age itself you provided security and rest. (Applause)

You made safe the banks which held your savings. (Applause) You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money -- money changing in the temple. (Applause)

Yes, you advanced to these and many other obligations -- yes, many obligations of democracy and therefore objectives of democracy (other objectives). You gained them, (and) you consolidated them and (advanced again) therefore you are advancing again.

The task which this generation had to do has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. And its advance must not and will not stop. (Applause)

During (these) those years while our democracy moved forward, your Government has worked with you and for you. Your Government has at times been checked. But always, with the aid and ^{the} counsel of all of the people, we have resumed our march. (Applause)

And now -- we are asked to stop in our tracks. We are asked to turn about, (and) to march back into the wilderness from

which we came.

Of course we will not turn backward. (Cries of "No.") We will not turn back because we are the inheritors of a tradition of pioneering, exploring, experimenting and adventuring (experimenting). We will not be scared into retreating by threats from the doubters of democracy. (Applause)

(Nor) Neither will we be bribed by extravagant promises of fabulous wealth.

Those who offer such promise(s) try to delude us with a mirage on the far horizon -- a mirage of an island of dreams, with palaces and palms and plums. (Laughter)

And it is a curious fact of nature that a (The) mirage is always upside down, above the horizon. (Laughter and applause)

And then, on top of that, the mirage (But) -- upside down or right-side up -- (it) isn't there at all. (Laughter and applause)

Now you see it -- and now you don't. (Laughter and applause)

Of course we shall continue to strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy side by side with the necessities and with the possibilities of modern industrial production.

Of course we shall continue to make available the good things of life created by the genius of science and technology -- to use them, however, not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all. (Applause)

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to preserve and build up the land of this country -- its soil, its forests and its rivers -- all of the

resources with which God has endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies and the minds of the men, women and children of (this country) the Nation -- through democratic education and a democratic program for health.

(Applause)

For there, there too, lies the road to democracy that is strong. (Applause)

Of course we intend to continue our efforts to protect our system of private enterprise and private property, but to protect it from monopoly of financial control on the one hand and from Communistic wrecking on the other. (Applause)

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent economic dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the morale of this country, not as blind obedience to some leader, but as the expression of confidence in the deeply ethical principles upon which this Nation and its democracy were founded. (Applause)

For there lies once more the road to democracy that is strong.

The progress of our country, as well as the defense of our country, requires national unity. We need the cooperation of every single American -- our workers, the great organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers, our fathers, our youth (applause) -- all the men (interrupted by applause) (and) all the women who love America just a little bit more than they love themselves. (Applause)

And if we can have the assistance of all these, we can

promise that such a program can make this country prosperous and free and strong -- to be a light of the world and a comfort to all people.

And all the forces of evil shall not prevail against it.

For so it is written in the Book, and so it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the promise of a great era of world peace.

This Nation which is arming itself for defense has also the intelligence to save its human resources by giving them that confidence which comes from useful work.

This Nation which is creating a great (navy) armament has also found the strength to build houses and begin to clear the slums of its cities and its countryside. (Applause)

Yes, this Nation which has become the industrial leader of the world, (applause) -- which has become that -- has the humanity to know that the people of a free land need not suffer the disease of poverty and the dread of not being wanted.

So I think that it is the destiny of this American generation to point the road to the future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that all lovers of freedom may join us -- the anguished common people of this earth for whom we seek to light the path.

I see an America where factory workers are not discarded after they reach their prime, where there is no endless chain of poverty from generation to generation, where impoverished farmers and farm hands do not become homeless wanderers, where monopoly does not make youth a beggar for a job.

I see (interrupted by applause) -- I see an America whose

rivers and valleys and lakes -- hills and streams and plains -- the mountains over our land and nature's wealth deep under the earth -- are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people. (Applause)

I see an America where small business really has a chance to flourish and grow.

I see an America of great cultural and educational opportunity for all (the) its people.

I see an America where the income from the land shall be implemented and protected by a Government determined to guarantee to (farmers) those who hoe it a fair share in the national income.

An America where the wheels of trade and private industry continue to turn to make the goods for America. Where no businessman can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly, and where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair reward of every businessman -- every businessman, big and little -- in all the Nation.

I see an America with peace in the ranks of labor. (Applause)

An America where the workers are really free and -- through their great unions undominated by any outside force, or by any dictator within -- can take their proper place at the council table with the owners and managers of business. (Applause) Yes, an America where the dignity and security of the working man and woman are guaranteed by their own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law. (Applause)

An America where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace, (and) in security. Where pensions and insurance for these aged shall be given as a matter of right to those who through a long life of labor have served their families and their nation so well. (Applause)

I see an America devoted to our freedoms -- unified by tolerance -- (and) unified by religious faith -- a people consecrated, a people consecrated to peace, a people confident in strength because their body and their spirit are secure and unafraid. (Applause)

During these years while our democracy advanced on many fields of battle -- I have had the great privilege of being your President. (Applause) And I think -- I think that no personal ambition of any man could desire more than that. (Applause)

Yes, it is a hard task. It is a task from which there is no escape day or night.

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind -- to preserve peace in our land; and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

Seven years ago I started with loyal helpers and with the trust and faith and support of millions of ordinary Americans. (Applause)

The way was difficult -- the path was dark, but I think we have moved steadily forward to the open fields, (and) to the glowing light that shines ahead.

The way of our lives seems clearer now, if we but follow the charts and the guides of our democratic faith.

There is a great storm raging now, a storm that (it) makes things harder for the world. And that storm, which did not start in this land of ours, is the true reason that I would like to stick by (these) those people of ours until we reach (interrupted by applause) -- yes, stick by these people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.

And we will make it (applause) -- we will make it before the

next term is over. (Applause)

We will make it; and the world, we hope, will make it, too.

(Applause)

When that term is over there will be another President, (applause) and many more Presidents (interrupted by applause) -- many more Presidents in the years to come, (applause) and I think that, in the years to come, that word "President" will be a word to cheer the hearts of common men and women everywhere. (Applause)

Our future belongs to us Americans.

It is for us to design it; for us to build it.

In that building of it we shall prove that our faith is strong enough, strong enough to survive the most fearsome storms that have ever swept (across this) over the earth.

In the days (and) in the months and the years to come, we shall be making history -- hewing out a new shape for the future. And we shall make very sure that (it) that future of ours bears the likeness of liberty. (Applause)

Always the heart and the soul of our country will be the heart and the soul of the common man -- the men and the women who never have ceased to believe in democracy, who never have ceased to love their families, their home(s) and their country. (Applause)

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good will. It is the spirit of God. And in His faith is the strength of all America. (Prolonged applause)

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
RHINEBECK, NEW YORK,
November 4, 1940.

You know, for me this is a sentimental journey because I have done it every time that I have run, either for Governor or for President.

This is not a campaign trip because it is quite obvious that I cannot gain or lose any votes among people who have known me since I was a small boy.

It has been a very wonderful trip this afternoon because down in Beacon and in Newburgh and in Kingston there were more of my Hudson River neighbors that turned out to say howdy-do than in 1932 or 1936.

And so I am stopping here just for a minute to say good evening to all of you and, of course, as you know, you will see me again very soon.

I am very happy and rather proud to be speaking here tonight between two of the most interesting buildings in the United States. First of all, the oldest hotel in America which, I am glad to say, is owned in Rhinebeck and run by Rhinebeck. The other is one of the best looking post offices in all of the forty-eight states.

It has been good to see you. I am going back home now to wade through 50 or 100 telephone messages and then I am going down tonight to say hello to my neighbors in Poughkeepsie -- that will be about half past nine -- and then, finally, I think it is eleven o'clock or eleven ten, I am making a short national broadcast which I don't believe will be very partisan or very political because these days I am, frankly, a little bit more concerned about the country as a whole than I am about any other one thing. I know you will understand me when I say that.

Thank you, very much.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
KINGSTON, NEW YORK
November 4, 1940

My friends of Kingston and of Ulster County:

When I got to Newburgh I said that I felt like a bridegroom because they threw rice all over me. Now I feel even more like a bridegroom with these beautiful bouquets of roses.

I am back on a sentimental journey, simply to do what I have done on many occasions before — to go and say howdy-do to my own neighbors across the Hudson River.

You know, I have very close ties with Kingston because about two hundred and seventy years ago one of the very earliest Roosevelts lived here in Esopus and belonged to the militia.

Incidentally, in those days we needed a militia to keep the Indians away. And today, 1940, we are trying to keep other marauders away from America.

And so, having come here to say howdy-do, I want to tell you how happy and gratified I am to see this wonderful gathering that has turned out.

You can always be very sure that in the days to come this old Hudson River Valley is going to be very close to my heart.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
NEWBURGH, N. Y.,
November 4, 1940

Mr. Mayor, my old friends of Newburgh:

I feel like a bridegroom just now because when I got off the ferry somebody showered me with rice.

This is not a political campaign trip. It is a trip of sentiment because, as you know, on a great many previous occasions, the day before Election, I have made a little drive, a little tour, down to Beacon and across here to Newburgh and up to Kingston and then to Rhinebeck and then back home. It has been a visit to my neighbors.

As you know, obviously this is the last time that I will come as a candidate on this kind of a trip.

It is good to see you all. This particular town, you know, is where my mother's family came from and I will be back in Orange County whether I am a private citizen or President in the next four years.

And this -- what I am going to say now, -- is for the newspapermen: I hope they will note the fact that this is the biggest crowd that has ever turned out in any of my trips to Newburgh. I hope that will go into the papers, but you never can tell.

It is good to see you all, -- bless you and I hope that we will go forward, progressing, as this country is progressing today, during the next term. Many thanks.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
LEACON, N. Y.
November 4, 1940

This is not a campaign speech, in spite of what you have read in the papers. This is a visit of sentiment -- to be here thirty years after Morg (Morgan) Hoyt introduced me for the first time in 1910. I just had to come back.

And, as you know, this is my sixth visit, the sixth time that I have come down here on the day before Election to say howdy-do to a lot of my old neighbors.

It is the last time, very obviously, that I will do that as a candidate for office but you can be quite sure that in all the years to come my heart will be in Dutchess County where it has always been.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered from a platform erected in front of
The Nelson House, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
November 4, 1940, 9.30 P.M.

MAYOR SPRATT, MY NEIGHBORS OF POUGHKEEPSIE AND DUTCHESS COUNTY AND
OUR NEIGHBORING COUNTIES:

My reason for speaking to you tonight is not to ask your votes on the morrow. It is rather to tell you of a little of the past and a little of the future.

It is just thirty years ago that I first campaigned in our County -- when I was running for State Senator and old Dick Connell of the News Press (applause) -- old Dick Connell was running for Congress. You know, in those days, thirty years ago, we did have a Democratic paper in Dutchess County; (applause) and Dick Connell ran for Congress so often that he finally got elected. (Applause) (He always said) Dick used to say to me that his success in that year of 1910 was due to the fact that in previous unsuccessful campaigns he had stopped at every schoolhouse he passed and he made a little speech in those schoolhouses on democracy and the American flag to the pupils. He claimed that enough school children grew up over a period of years to know him, to remember the incident, and (to vote for) finally to elect him.

(At the point the loud-speaking system failed and the President halted his address for a few moments, until it was repaired.)

Just let me say what I said last: Dick Connell talked to enough school children in all those years to get elected to Congress.

And (he won) in that year of 1910, Dick Connell won against

the father of your present Congressman. (Cries of "Put him in the river.")

You know, in those days this Hudson River section of ours was closer politically between the two major parties than it has been in more recent years. Speaking not in a partisan way but just as one who (you know) has (been) always been very much interested (locally) in civic betterment locally, I am inclined to think that close competition between the two parties in these river counties was a very good thing in those days. Each party, Republicans and Democrats, each party was striving to outdo the other, not in promises alone, but in the actualities of good government.

In those days, thirty years ago, I am inclined as an observer to believe that county and local government in Dutchess and (the) in these other counties was stimulated by the closeness of the races that were made.

And, you know, the same thing was true in those days in regard to State and even national politics. We were not committed to any set way of voting. Why, we used to have an occasional Democrat in (the) Congress or in the State Senate, as I discovered, or in the Assembly, and once in a blue moon this good old County of Dutchess used to go Democratic. (In the interest of good government, I think it would be a fine thing if it could be a bit more Democratic again now.)

And that leads me to emphasize, not in a party sense but in an American sense, the need that all of us have to think day and night in terms of our own historic form of government. It is true, as we all know, that in many other parts of the world serious and sometimes suc-

cessful attacks have been made (on it) on democracy. New forms of government, based on the theory of might rather than on the theory of right, have waged wars against innocent peoples.

But in the long run I believe, for example, that the Germanic peoples and Italian peoples, with their proud heritage of freedom, will return, with the rest of the world, to self-government based on free elections. (Applause)

Yes, events (abroad) in Europe seem far away to us. But time and distance have been greatly shortened so that we must always remember that peace in our land may depend on our thoroughly recognized ability to defend ourselves. (Applause)

And you and I are thankful tonight that we have peace throughout the length and the breadth of this land. And what is more, the people, by their strength, intend to keep this country at peace. (Applause)

And so to you, the men and women of my own home County, I speak for the last time here on Market Street on the eve of an election. All my life I have been, yes, and all my life I shall be devoted to the welfare and the interests of Dutchess County. (Applause)

Good-by.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered from the President's home, Hyde Park, N.Y.
November 4, 1940, 11.12 P.M.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

Once more I am in the quiet of my home in Hyde Park on the eve of Election Day. I wish to speak to you not of partisan politics but of the Nation, the United States of America, to which we all owe such deep and inborn allegiance.

As I sit here tonight with my own family, I think of all the other American families -- millions of families all through the land -- sitting in their own homes. They have eaten their supper in peace, they will be able to sleep in their homes tonight in peace. Tomorrow they will be free to go out to live their ordinary lives in peace -- free to say and do what they wish, free to worship as they please. Tomorrow, of all days, they will be free to choose their own leaders who, when that choice has been made, become in turn only the instruments to carry out the will of all of the people.

And I cannot help but think of the families in other lands -- millions of families -- living in homes like ours (own). On some of these homes, bombs of destruction may be dropping even as I speak to you.

Across the seas life has gone underground. I think I speak the minds of all of you when I say that we thank God that we live in the sunlight, (and) in the starlight of peace -- that we are not in war and that we propose and expect to continue to live our lives in peace -- under the peaceful light of Heaven.

In this town, as in every other community in our nation,

friends and neighbors will gather together around the polling place.

They will discuss the state of the Nation, the weather, and the prospect for their favorite football team. They will discuss (this) the present political campaign. Some will wear buttons proclaiming their allegiance to one candidate or another. And, I suppose, there will be a few warm arguments.

But when you and I step into the voting booth, we can proudly say: "I am an American, and this vote I am casting is the exercise of my highest privilege and my most solemn duty to my country."

We vote as free men, impelled only by the urgings of our own wisdom and our own conscience.

In our polling places are no storm troopers or secret police to look over our shoulders as we mark our ballots.

My own personal participation in public affairs goes back as far as the year 1910, when I first became a candidate for the State Senate from this district on the Hudson River.

In the thirty years (which) that have followed, I have taken an active part in nearly every political campaign -- local, and state, and national. My interest has been that of a candidate for office; a public official; and a private citizen.

And in every political campaign the question on which we all finally pass judgment through the ballot box is simply this: "Whom do I think is the candidate best qualified to act as President, or Governor, or Senator, or Mayor, or Supervisor or County Commissioner during the next term?"

It is that right, the right to determine for themselves who should be their own officers of government, that provides for the

people the most powerful safeguard of our democracy. The right to place men in office, at definite, fixed dates of election for a specific term, is the right which will keep a free people always free.

Dictators have forgotten -- or perhaps they never knew -- the basis upon which democratic government is founded: that the opinion of all the people, freely formed and freely expressed, without fear or coercion, is wiser than the opinion of any one man or any small group of men.

We have more faith in the collective opinion of all Americans than in the individual opinion of any one American.

Your will is a part of the great will of America. Your voice is a part of the great voice of America. And when you and I stand in line tomorrow for our turn at the polls, we are voting equals.

In the past twenty years the number of those ^{who}/exercise the right to vote in national elections has been almost doubled. There is every indication that the number of votes cast tomorrow will be by far the greatest in all our history.

That is the proof -- if proof be needed -- of the vitality of our democracy.

But our obligation to our country does not end with the casting of our votes.

Every one of us has a continuing responsibility for the Government which we choose.

Democracy is not just a word, to be shouted at political rallies and then put back into the dictionary after election day.

The service of democracy must be something much more than mere lip service.

It is a living thing -- a human thing -- compounded of brains and muscles and heart and soul. The service of democracy is the birthright of every citizen, the white and the colored; the Protestant, the Catholic, the Jew; the sons and daughters of every country in the world, who make up the people of this land. Democracy is every man and woman who loves freedom and serves the cause of freedom.

Last Saturday night, I said that freedom of speech is of no use to the man who has nothing to say -- that freedom of worship is of no use to the man who has lost his God. And tonight I should like to add that a free election is of no use to the man who is too indifferent to vote.

The American people and the cause of democracy owe a great deal to the very many people who have worked in an honorable way on each side in this campaign. I know that after tomorrow they will all continue to cooperate in the service of democracy, to think about it, to talk about it, and to work for it.

Tomorrow you will decide for yourselves how the legislative and executive branches of the Government of your country are to be run during their next terms and by whom.

After the ballots are counted, the real rulers of this country will have had their (say) way, as they have had it every two years or every four years during our whole national existence.

After the ballots are counted, the United States of America will still be united.

Discussion among us should and will continue, for we are free citizens of a free nation. But there can be no arguments about

the essential fact that in our desire to remain at peace by defending our democracy, we are one nation and one people.

We people of America know that man cannot live by bread alone.

We know that we have a reservoir of religious strength which can withstand attacks from abroad and corruption from within.

We people of America will always cherish and preserve that strength. We will always cling to our religion, our devotion to God -- to the faith which gives us comfort and the strength to face evil.

On this election eve, we all have in our hearts and minds a prayer for the dignity, (and) the integrity and the peace of our beloved country.

Therefore, in this last hour before midnight, I believe that you will find it fitting that I read to you an old prayer which asks the guidance of God for our nation:

"Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our heritage; We humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honourable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogancy, and from every evil way. Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue with the spirit of wisdom those to whom in Thy Name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail; Amen."

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
FROM THE PORCH OF HIS HOME,
HYDE PARK, N.Y.,
November 5, 1940.

You know, this is a perfectly tremendous surprise. I learned about it -- I learned about this party first from the news ticker an hour and a half ago. And the news ticker said something else. It said that neighbors and boosters from the Roosevelt Home Club planned a torch light parade to the Hyde Park house shortly before midnight. And you could have knocked me down with a feather. And then the report went on to say -- of course it was probably written by a kid -- that this has been a regular custom on election night since the Chief Executive entered the field of national politics.

It seems to me that I and most of us go further back than that. We go back, first, to the campaigns of 1928 and 1930. And then a few old graybeards like me -- we go back to 1912 and 1910.

But I think that, except for a very few people in Hyde Park, I go back even further than that. I claim to remember it, but the family say that I do not, and that was the first election of Grover Cleveland in 1884. I was one and a half years old at that time, and I remember the torch light parade that came down here that night. As they say, "believe it or not!"

And this youngster here, Franklin Junior, was just saying to me that he wondered whether Franklin Third, who is up there in that room, will also remember tonight. He also is one and a half years old.

We haven't got the full returns yet because we haven't anything definite from California, Oregon, and Washington. However, it looks all right.

And one of the things that makes me very happy about this thing is the fact that we have won a very great victory in these three counties of Dutchess, Putnam, and Orange, because, even though our present Congressman may have been reelected by a very small majority, the victory of Mr. Steeholm is just as big, nevertheless. We are all proud of the splendid fight that he has made.

I don't need to tell you that we face difficult days in this country but I think you will find me in the future just exactly the same Franklin Roosevelt that you have known for a great many years. My heart has always been here. It always will be. And, by Jove, you know some day, when Elmer (Van Wagner) gets tired of running for Supervisor -- oh, I don't know when -- 10 or 20 years -- I might take a shot at that job myself.

It has been fine to see you. Thanks ever so much and I am going to be back here, as you know, just as much as the Government of the United States will let me.

Thanks very much.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE PORCH OF HIS HOME,
HYDE PARK, N. Y.
November 5, 1940 - 12:30 P.M.

This is my second party tonight and I am very grateful for it. And there is still a crowd coming down the road.

Things look perfectly fine. I have been on the telephone speaking to people all over the United States. I haven't heard finally from Oregon and California and the State of Washington yet but they seem to be coming through in very great shape.

And may I say I am awfully proud of this district of ours -- of what Hardy Stechholm has done, because he has almost performed a miracle in the way he has cut down the vote of our present Congressman. It is a very great moral victory for our District.

I have to speak to a great many people on the 'phone and I hope you will excuse me.

Mrs. Roosevelt and my Mother are very happy. God bless you.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE LAYING OF THE CORNERSTONE, HYDE PARK
POST OFFICE, HYDE PARK, N. Y.,
November 6th, 1940.

I am standing here with rather mixed feelings today because, since I was a small boy, the little old post office, either there or next door, was a feature of the Village. However, things have changed and with our increasing population the Post Office Department felt, as we say in the Navy, that we rated a new building -- so here it is.

For some of you who don't know the full story about this building, I think it is worth while to call attention to the fact that we have tried here in Dutchess County to copy in our government buildings some old historic buildings as closely as we can.

The post office in Poughkeepsie is really an enlarged version of the old Dutchess County Court House that was taken down nearly a century ago. The building at Happingers Falls is very similar to the old Mesier homestead. The post office in Rhinebeck is a replica of the old Beckman House that was built about 1700 down near the River.

When we came to the problem of Hyde Park, we tried very hard to get a picture of the old Stoutenburgh homestead that stood within the memory of some people now living over here on the brow of the hill, about a block and a half west of here. But we could not get a real picture of what it looked like; it was all hearsay. We did find, however, a pen and ink sketch that was done by Mr. Sexton about seventy or eighty years ago of the original old John Bard house that stood, as far as we can make out, about half-way between St. James' Church and the Vanderbilt barn. It was a very interesting sketch because it showed not merely the ground plan and the elevation of a building that looked just like this -- except it was of wood -- but it also showed the roof plan, and the roof of this building is quite unique.

The Bard House was built, as I remember the date, about 1760, and the roof line is found only in two or three other buildings in this country. In other words, it is a piece of architecture of about 1760 that is well worth preserving. All we did was to copy that plan of the old Bard house, except that this building is in stone.

As you know, the Bard place up here is probably the oldest estate in the north that has been kept as an estate for nearly two hundred years and under most careful supervision and care. And now part of it has gone to the United States Government. Thereby we commemorate not merely the fact that John Bard was the grandson of the original patentee of the land north of the Creek and called it Hyde Park in honor of the Hyde family -- Lord Clarendon in England at that time -- but also because he was a very great naturalist. His son, too, was a great naturalist, as was his son's partner, who owned a place up here, Dr. David Husey, and the two Walter Langdons, father and son. And, in our recent memory, so was Mr. Fred Vanderbilt.

From the name of that grant up there, the Village gets its name, Hyde Park, and so we can see the appropriateness in having this new post office copied after the old John Bard House.

I don't think we need any more ceremony, except that I would like to thank the men and the contractors and the builders and the architect who were responsible for this very lovely building.

I think it will last us for a good many years to come and all of us in Hyde Park are very proud to have this new post office.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
HYDE PARK STATION,
November 6, 1940, 11:05 P.M.

It is awfully sweet of you to come out tonight. I had a suspicion that something was going to happen because I got a telephone call from the office in Poughkeepsie, from the radio people, to please not get here at eleven, to make it eleven five.

As you said, I wish Eleanor were here tonight, but she isn't. She went on to Washington this afternoon. We get back tomorrow when I think there is to be a party there of some neighbors of ours -- in a city of six hundred thousand people, a city that I knew in the old days in 1913. When I went down there then Washington was a small place, about two hundred thousand. It is an interesting fact that today it is three times as big.

When you get a chance, come down and see the National Capital and, incidentally, come in and see the White House because you have got another four years in which you know that your neighbor is living in it. But I can also tell you I'd much rather live here.

Wait till this goes by. (Referring to freight train)

You know, I could preach a sermon on that train, not only because about 95% of the Brotherhoods voted for me yesterday but also because in the last few weeks when I have been doing a little traveling I have noticed that the freight trains are longer and they are more frequent than for a great many years in our history.

Of course, if I had gone on and campaigned longer, I might have used that as an example of this dreadful depression that we have heard so much about.

I do think we are feeling better after yesterday. I understand that there were some people around Hyde Park who sat up last night just as late as I did. I understand, too, that some of them telephoned to their very rabid neighbors on the other side and got them out of bed at four A. M.

It is good to see you all. You know, there is always a silver lining in every cloud. Because of things down in Washington, I don't believe, as far as I can prophesy two and a half weeks ahead, that I will be able to go down to Warm Springs, Georgia, for my customary Thanksgiving with the patients down there because it is about twenty-four hours out of Washington. Well, that will give me a chance to come up on the 21st of November -- the new Thanksgiving Day -- to come up here for a few days rest, so I will see many of you at that time.

Many thanks and I hope you will get a good long sleep -- as I will. Good night.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Union Station Plaza
Washington, D. C.
November 7, 1940

(This address was not released to the press.)

My old friends of Washington.

I think this means a great deal, both to Henry Wallace and Mrs. Wallace and my wife because it is not as if we were new people. Your coming out here to see us after all these years in Washington means that we are getting on pretty well.

And we are very happy to be back here for a little bit longer. I think you know that we very, very much like farm life but of all the cities in the world, if we have to live in a city, we would rather live in Washington, D. C. than any other place.

So, on behalf of both of us, I want to thank you and tell you how glad we are of the results of two days ago, and how glad we are of the prospects of staying here just a little bit longer. Thanks very much.

TRANSCRIPT OF REMARKS AT MEETING
OF THE PRESIDENT WITH THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE
OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION
Executive Offices of the White House
November 9, 1940

(On a small table, to the President's right, there was an exhibit of some twenty machine tools made by American youth under the supervision of the National Youth Administration.)

THE PRESIDENT: We are going to get photographed in a few minutes with what I called, in the Navy, gadgets.

MR. AUBREY WILLIAMS: Did you take a look at them?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I did take a look at them.

MR. WILLIAMS: What do you think?

THE PRESIDENT: I could not do better work myself.

MR. WILLIAMS: I didn't know that you did.

THE PRESIDENT: Didn't you know about that?

MR. WILLIAMS: This is a surprise.

THE PRESIDENT: I just make those in my spare time. (Laughter)

Go ahead, Charles.

MR. CHARLES TAUSSIG: Mr. President, the National Advisory Committee is supposed to do business with you, to report to you, and, before we go ahead and read a formal statement, there are just a few things we decided to introduce through this conference.

First, the National Advisory Committee is going to open an office in Washington and we are going through with this in order to improve the service to the state and local advisory committees. We are hoping to improve the local committees, both in number and effectiveness and, also, in affording young people an opportunity to participate in the work.

Also, we feel that you ought to be given the privilege of re-organizing the National Advisory Committee.

THE PRESIDENT: Don't give me any more headaches than I have just now. Keep on going the way you are.

MR. TAUSSIG: Thank you.

We feel that we have no really adequate representation of un-organized youth -- as a matter of fact, we have no adequate representation of all youth -- and we are going to ask you to name three young people to the Committee for a period of a year.

Then, also, in addition, we are going to ask you to appoint two businessmen -- we have not any adequate representation of business -- and in due course we will make our recommendations.

I am going to read a prepared statement, if I may: (Reading)

"The Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration is glad to show you some of the productive work which American youth is doing in the interest of national defense.

"Happy as we are to make this demonstration, the Committee would like to present the defense work in its proper place as part of a larger view.

"The only reason for having a defense program at all is to protect youth and its right to grow up, grow strong, and make its contribution to the country in its own way. In one sense, the national defense is primarily the defense not of this generation, but of the next generation.

"Properly conceived, a program for youth in national defense must do more than merely make use of young men and women for protection against external danger. It must also assist in developing a youth equipped to use, develop and improve the national heritage which is being preserved for them by this defense.

"A youth so equipped is entitled of right to be provided with three great assets.

"The first is good health, in the largest sense of that term: health which builds body, and mind; which gives to young people not only freedom from disease, but reasonable opportunity for recreation, for physical development, and for making the human contacts which

lead to sound relationship with the community.

"The second great asset is education, again in the largest sense. Education must mean not only the training of the mind and familiarity with school books; but also the training of skills and of habits and the discipline and self-restraint which makes each young man and woman able to make the most of his capacities for himself, for those around him, and for the country.

"The third great asset which must be provided is a ready path by which youth, as it comes to maturity, can find prompt access to a place in the economic and community life of the country. It is neither right nor safe to ask young men and young women, as they grow up, to wander aimlessly for months or years before they can find employment, sound opportunity, and a chance to take up the tasks for which they are fitted. Unplaced youth is the greatest threat to national, and to individual life.

"It is the belief of the Committee that the training of youth in connection with the national defense must fit into this conception. There is no 'youth problem' apart from the problem of the country; for children are constantly being born, constantly growing older, constantly coming to maturity, constantly becoming mature citizens. It is impossible to have sound citizenship either for defense or for peace, if the work of equipping youth in health, in education, and in economics is not begun early and carried forward continuously.

"It is the belief of the Committee that we have already in existence a wealth of mechanism which can be adapted to these ends. The health program nationally and locally can be guided so that it safeguards children, strengthens adolescents, and gives youth full equipment.

"The schools and the colleges have unrivaled facilities for handling the problem of education and general training.

"These can be integrated with the employment agencies, with the personnel offices of industry, and with other similar offices, so that young people may more readily find employment, and may be more readily placed in positions in which they will succeed.

"Finally, the registration of men for national service will provide a wealth of material and knowledge enabling us to work more effectively on all of these problems.

"In conceiving the national defense program for youth thus broadly, the National Advisory Committee emphasizes once more that the problem of youth is in very great measure the individual responsibility of older people: parents, teachers, employers, friends. No generation lives to itself, or dies to itself. It is always in the presence of a generation which has gone before and of a generation which is still to come. The greatest defense for civilization must therefore be not the isolation of youth, as has occurred in other parts of the world, but the relating of youth to the society which we hold dear and are resolved to protect."

THE PRESIDENT: That is an awfully fine statement and, of course, those are the principles under which we have to work.

There are going to be some practical things which will hit us between the eyes by next spring. I was talking with the Advisory Council (on Defense) yesterday and it was the first time that they admitted that there is probably going to be a personnel shortage in the spring. That means, of course, that we will have to increase our program of training between now and then.

I was interested, just to give you an example -- in going around some of the airplane factories I found in one of them a large number of women and, in the others, no women. I found that in this particular location -- it was the Pratt and Whitney plant at Hartford, that they have a shortage of labor, and that they are training young women, especially to be inspectors. In other words, they are training them to do the actual inspection of these various things before they are passed out to the assembly line. They had something like sixty or seventy women.

That is just an illustration of one of the things you see when going around the country. Undoubtedly there will be as great an employment in the other plants. They say they are not ready yet but they will be by spring. That is a new job for women essentially, and I think it is a very important thing for us to be talking about.

In the same way, there are going to be a great many people taken into the Army. Most of them are people with existing jobs of one kind or another, and they will have to be replaced in all kinds of industry.

And then, finally, just to give you an idea of what we are working on in the way of new things, you have heard me say at various times that

the nation is soft. I am having a conference down here with what might be called the physical education experts of the country in a couple of weeks, just to get their ideas, both men and women. That would not be run by the National, the Federal Government. It would be completely decentralized into the localities. And, of course, that work has got to be coordinated with the work of the N.R.A., very definitely. It is work for men and women.

At the same time I am having down fifteen or twenty women who are heads of various women's organizations, to ask them what their judgment is as to what we can give in the way of something for patriotic women of the country to do at home. They all want to do something. The thing would be done primarily through state and local councils for defense. Again, it would not be run from Washington, but it would have to be and ought to be coordinated and kept track of through the N.Y.A. or the Welfare Department of the Government.

This winter I hope we will get a local interest in national defense, which we have not had up to the present time. I think it is there, but we haven't given them anything to do. Now that the election is over, all these local people are just rarin' to go. They want something to do. I do not care if they were active politically on one side or the other, but I do believe in using -- what shall I say? -- their potential energy. In other words, I believe in using the water to make the turbine run, rather than letting it go over the dam. I think Mr. (Owen D.) Young can understand that. Sell electricity off the bus bar -- that sounds familiar. Well, I think we have people rarin' to go all over the place and we ought to give them something to do.

That is why I want this particular organization of yours to keep

in very, very close touch. The mechanics at the top are not very difficult, as long as we work them out beforehand and then stick to them. Of course decentralization is important but so long as we know at the top what to do, the whole thing will work out.

In Cabinet, the Secretary of War raised the question and there is no doubt but what we need education in patriotism. There are a great many sections of the country that need it for one reason or another. Of course that means everybody of school age and also the school teachers. That is very important; there is a certain amount of work to be done among the school teachers, and then there are people who have graduated from school, who are of middle age and even of old age, who also require that sort of education. There is a special committee of the Cabinet which is now working on education in patriotism and you will be kept advised as to that. That does seem to be essential in certain places in our country.

You are doing a grand job; I am glad you are keeping on without any changes except for a few additions.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Annual Dinner of the National Press Club
Saturday, November 9, 1940

(At the beginning of the dinner Mr. Richard L. Wilson, President of the Press Club, made the following remarks, of which the first sentence only is paraphrased:

"Occasionally something should be said on an occasion such as this for a fellow newspaperman. Such a man is Steve Early, who, only a few days ago, was the subject of some unfavorable publicity because he was trying to help newspapermen. (Applause)

"Steve is unable to be here tonight -- one of the first dinners of the National Press Club he has ever missed. Steve has been a member of this Club for thirty years. He was a member of its Board of Governors. He has gone through all the headaches and heart-aches of anybody that has anything to do with the management of the Club, and he has enjoyed, also, the joys that the same people have enjoyed.

"And so, on behalf of the National Press Club, I have a telegram I want to send to Steve from this hall, and I will read it to you.

"It is addressed to Stephen T. Early where he is now at a vacation spot:

"With its most distinguished member present this evening the members of the National Press Club join 100 per cent in greetings to you with the hope that you are picking them right for every bet across the boards, and that you are taking no more than three putts to a green or four swallows to a tumbler. We regret exceedingly you cannot be with us but all of us are looking forward to the time when we can personally welcome you back.

And it is signed, 'The National Press Club.'" (Applause)

(Later on in the evening Mr. Wilson addressed the Club as follows:

"A short time ago we sent a telegram to Steve Early and now we have had a reply. I think I ought to read it to you:

"Thanks. Eternally grateful to old friends and colleagues of the National Press Club."

"And now, gentlemen, it is my honor to present to you the President of the United States.")

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Wilson, my fellow crusaders: (Applause -- laughter)

I think it is a very appropriate title, without even waiting for next Monday night. (Referring to the fact that Mr. Willkie was to speak the following Monday evening) I say that because from personal experience I know that all of the members of the Club are pioneers. I have learned a lot since I became a member.

I was just an ordinary reporter in the old days, when I first joined the Club, but you have taught me things. You have taught me to be a columnist.

And, in the last two weeks, I ran five successful columns before I was taken out. (Applause)

And you taught me to be a radio announcer. (Applause)

There is one thing you have not taught me yet, because there is only one member of this Club that really knows how to do it, and I have not seen him since last Tuesday. There is just one great newspaperman who has successfully run the publicity of three successive National Campaigns -- old Charlie

Michelson. (Applause)

I am very grateful for a grand evening. It has taken me out of myself. And, strictly in the family, tomorrow being Sunday morning, I am going to sleep late, and so are many of you. I have had a grand evening, and Gene Buck has put on a grand show.

It did carry me back a bit, I must confess, because Fritz Kreisler and I are very nearly contemporaries, only he became not just a national figure but a world figure when I was still in college, and he still is. (Applause)

I am delighted to have a hint from my fellow members -- a billfold. (Laughter and applause) I need suggestions for the next four years. I am not only a poorer but, perhaps, a wiser man from the past eight, and from the point of view of the family, it would be a good thing to put something into the billfold in addition to the card of membership.

There are a great many things to be learned -- not just by me but by the Vice President elect. I have no doubt he is now figuring out how often he is going to strike a blow for liberty. (The Press Club had presented a baseball bat to the Vice President elect.) (Applause)

Well, it is -- I think it is eight years, just about, that I came in here, and I cannot help but remember the terrible faux pas I made at that time trying to be funny. Jack Garner and I had come over together in a car -- and that was before we were inaugurated -- and in passing a great building that I had

not seen put up in recent months, I said to Jack, "What is that?" and he said, "That is the new Department of Commerce Building." Then we went on for three or four minutes and I looked up and there was another great new building and I said, "What is that, Jack?" and he said, "That is the new Department of Commerce building." (Laughter) We kept on driving towards the National Press Club for a good part of the evening and finally we got past the new Department of Commerce.

Well, today, if you think of it, that was a great mistake on my part. Think of all the buildings that have gone up in this town since that building was finished -- great buildings of great beauty. And now this new Secretary of War will make me lay a cornerstone, the War Department building, and Frank Knox, being a newspaperman and a go-getter, he will have^{me}/start a Navy Department building before I know it.

Of course there is one thing that we are all agreed on: Just as long as we live we are going to like certain things -- I think they call them anachronisms -- and there is one thing that is never going to happen as long as I live and that is that we are not going to tear down or change an old building that is one of the most ugly buildings in Washington, but a building that Cordell (Secretary Hull) and I are mighty proud of, and that is the old State Department building. (Applause)

I suppose there will be some changes. I got a suggestion the other day -- don't die -- that we should put the Press Conferences twice a week on the air. (Laughter and applause)

But it is just an illustration of the fact that people still have ideas. And of why we may, all of us, call ourselves crusaders.

All the same, I do not think that in the next term -- the last term (laughter and applause) -- there will be very much of a change in the Government of the United States. Most of us know each other pretty well and, because of that, we like each other pretty well. We understand each other and we are going ahead on what now is a rather old form of government, without many changes.

And that is why, if I may -- I hope I will be here for the next three years -- I would like to start a custom tonight, at the Press Club Dinner, the custom of ending the dinner with a very simple little toast, a toast "To the United States!"

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the Amphitheatre
Arlington National Cemetery
Armistice Day, November 11, 1940, 11.10 A.M.

VETERANS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES:

On this day which commemorates the end of fighting between human beings in a World War, it is, I think, permissible for me to search far back in the history of civilization in order to visualize important trends.

On the Great Seal of the United States which, for a century and half, has reposed in the loving care of a long line of Secretaries of State of the United States, there appear these words:

"NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM"

which means: "A new order of the ages."

In almost every century since the day that recorded history began, people have thought, quite naturally, that they were creating or establishing some kind of "new order of the ages."

But in the scheme of civilization from which ours descends I suppose that we can (properly) recognize that in approximately 2,500 years there have been only a very few "new orders" in the development of human living under a thing called government.

Without question, the philosophy of orderly government in which the governed had some form of voice in a civilized society goes back to the days of ancient Greece. We must remember, however, that while the philosophy of democracy was there first expressed in words and on paper, the practice of it was by no means consistent, and was confined to a relatively small number of human beings and to a relatively small geographical area.

Then we came to the age of Rome -- an age of a strange admixture of elections and laws and military conquest and personal dictatorship. It was an age which extended the civilization of the period to the greater part of the then known world. It was an age which forced its own conception of laws and ways of life on millions, literally millions of less civilized people who previously had lived under tribal custom or centralized direction. Yet, definitely, Rome was an age.

With (Rome's) the collapse that followed, (and) with the overrunning of Europe by vast population movements from farther east, orderly progress deteriorated for a number of centuries, and the sword drove learning into hiding. That dark period could hardly be called an age because it was essentially an interim between ages.

And then, with the reawakening of a thousand years ago, with the Crusades, the Feudal System, the Guilds, the Kings and the Renaissance, that age which immediately preceded our own was born and grew and flourished. (That) It was an era of enormous distinction -- arts and literature and education and exploration -- marching armies, barons and empires. Human security was still non-existent -- democracy was not permitted.

But toward(s) (its) the close of that great age, (however) the appearance of tiny movements in tiny places, led by tiny people forecast the next vast step forward -- what we like to think of as the era of 1776 -- the age in which, thank God, we still live. (Applause)

It is true that those small beginnings originated (it is true) in the old world -- among the philosophers, among the seekers of many kinds of freedom that were forbidden then by those who governed.

Those beginnings found their freest development in the colonies that were organized along the seaboard of North America. There, by the processes of trial and error, democracy as it has since been accepted in so many lands, had its birth and its training.

There came into being the first far-flung government in all the world whose cardinal principle was democracy -- the United States of America. (Applause)

I think we must accept that as fact because, truly and fundamentally, it was a new order -- nothing like it had ever been seen before. We must accept it because the new order spread into almost every part of the civilized world. It spread in many forms -- and over the next century almost all peoples had acquired some form of popular expression of opinion, some form of election, some form of franchise, some form of the right to be heard. And the Americas, all of the Americas in that century and the British Isles, England and Scotland and Ireland and Wales, led the world in spreading the gospel of democracy among peoples great and small. (Applause)

And the world as a whole felt with much right that by that time it had discarded feudalism and conquest and dictatorship.

People felt that way within the memory of many of us who are here today, felt that way until 1914, when a definite effort was made in a part of the world to destroy this existing settled "new order of the ages," -- to destroy it after its relatively short trial, and to substitute for it the doctrine that might makes right. (The) That attempt failed without help twenty-two years ago (today). (Applause)

You and I who served in the period of the World War have faced in later years unpatriotic efforts by some of our own countrymen to make us believe that the sacrifices made by our own nation were wholly in vain.

A hundred years from now, historians will brand such efforts as puny and false.

A hundred years from now, historians will say rightly that the World War preserved the new order of the ages for at least a (whole) generation -- a full twenty years -- and that if the axis of 1918 had been successful in military victory over the associated nations, resistance on behalf of democracy in 1940 would have been wholly impossible. (Applause)

And so America (therefore) is proud of its share in maintaining the era of democracy in that war in which we took part. America is proud of you who served -- and ever will be proud. (Applause)

I, for one, do not believe that the era of democracy in human affairs can or ever will be snuffed out in our lifetime. (Applause)

I, for one, do not believe that mere force will be successful in sterilizing the seeds which had taken such firm root as a harbinger of better lives for mankind. I, for one, do not believe that the world will revert either to a modern form of ancient slavery or to controls vested in modern feudalism or modern emperors or modern dictators or modern oligarchs in these days. I, for one, do believe that the very people under their iron heels will, themselves, rebel. (Applause)

After all, what are a few months or even a few years in the lifetime of any of us? We, alive today, live and think in terms of our grandparents, and our own parents, and ourselves, and our children --

yes, and our grandchildren. We, alive today, -- not in the existent democracies alone, but also among the populations of the smaller nations already overrun, we are thinking in the larger terms of the maintenance of the new order to which we have been accustomed and in which we intend to continue. (Applause)

Time has marched on. We recognize certain facts of 1940 which did not exist in 1918 -- a need for the elimination of aggressive armaments -- a need for the breaking down of barriers in a more closely knitted world -- a need for restoring honor in the written and the spoken word. (Applause) We recognize that the processes of democracies must be greatly improved in order that we may attain those purposes.

But over and above the present, over and above this moment, we recognize and salute the eternal verities that lie with us in the future of mankind.

You, (the) young men of 1917 and 1918, you helped to preserve those truths of democracy for our generation.

We still unite, we still strive mightily to preserve intact that new order of the ages founded by the Fathers of America. (Applause)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
On the occasion of the laying of the
Cornerstone of the Naval Medical Center
Bethesda, Maryland
November 11, 1940, 3.30 P.M.

ADMIRAL MOINTRE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This morning at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the American people paid their tribute at the shrine of those who gave their lives in defense of our country. (It is fitting that) This afternoon it is fitting that we assemble again in the patriotic cause of preserving the well-being of those who, living, wear the uniform of our defense.

This Nation is gaining in foresight. This Nation, thereby, is saving human life in war and in peace.

This mission today is particularly close to my heart. During the trying days of the World War, when serving as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I well remember the tremendous load of patients that were cared for under the restricted facilities at the Naval Hospital overlooking Constitution Avenue. That hospital occupies an historic site -- the place where General Braddock landed in 1755 when George Washington was serving as his aide-de-camp. In 1842, the Naval Observatory was located there and in 1893, the grounds and the building were assigned as the Naval Museum of Hygiene. Later on, in 1902, the Naval Medical School was founded and, as you know, has accomplished great things in the training of medical officers and in the care of tens of thousands of our naval personnel.

The need for increased capacity, (and) for better facilities led your Government some years ago to initiate the move from the old historic site to (this) the present one. These new buildings had

become a necessity even before the existing expansion (in) of our defense forces. I have referred to foresight and that is one reason that in planning we have provided opportunity for expansion to any point that might become necessary in a national mobilization.

And when this building is completed we shall have a 500-bed hospital incomparably modern in structure and equipment. On these grounds will be provided quarters for the staff officers and nurses and enlisted personnel.

Its 247 acres provide ample space for any emergency that may be reasonably anticipated. It is convenient to transportation by road and rail. And across the highway, with its great research laboratories, the National Institute of Public Health, dedicated (last week) ten days ago, is still (its) our good neighbor.

And within this Naval Medical School itself (will) are going to be joined the task of the clinician and the teacher. In other words, technical instruction will go hand in hand with the care of human illness.

I am happy, too, that the physical work of construction has proceeded so well. Through efficient and harmonious cooperation between government and industry and labor, it is at least three months ahead of schedule and we hope to occupy these buildings by next October, and we will have another ceremony at that time. To all who have and have had a part in this work, I give the thanks of your Government.

In the years to come I am very confident that the striking architecture of this great center will receive approval. It is a departure from the colonial type of many recent structures, as it is also from the monumental classic design of the buildings within the

District of Columbia. It combines, I think, a practical usefulness for the facilities which will inhabit it and, at the same time, the harmony of its lines gives expression to the thought that art is not dead in our midst.

This Naval Medical Center of which I am about to lay the cornerstone is a tribute to a living democracy -- a democracy which intends to keep on living.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Following Luncheon with the Patients of
The Georgia Warm Springs Foundation
Warm Springs, Georgia
December 15, 1940

(Honorable Basil O'Connor introduced the President preceding his introduction with a few remarks to the effect that since he had done such a poor job pinch-hitting for the President at the Thanksgiving dinner the President had decided to come to the Foundation to make up for it, and that he thought the President would call this occasion "a Third Thanksgiving".)

THE PRESIDENT:

As a matter of fact, I think you appreciate that the other doctor connected with Warm Springs, Dr. O'Connor, did such a good job on Thanksgiving day that I wondered if it was necessary for me to ever come back. (Laughter)

That idea about a third Thanksgiving is excellent. There has been so much criticism about Thanksgiving -- having to have two -- and I believe in compromise, so this is the third. If we hadn't had turkey -- I told Doc O'Connor I was going to put him in the middle of the table and carve him up. (Laughter)

I wish I could stay longer. As you know, that seems to be impossible at the present time. I have seen a great deal today and I told Dr. Irwin when I saw him this morning that there was one operation I was very much interested in -- the first thing I was going to do after I got off the train was to see the timber operations up the road toward the Cascades (referring to the cutting of pine trees and sawmill on the Foundation). So, we are performing still another operation at Warm Springs. (Laughter)

I hope to be down here, without any question, if the world survives, next March for my usual two weeks in the spring. (Applause)

While quite a number of you I have seen before -- much to my delight -- quite a number I haven't seen before so I am going to stand over by the door, according to Thanksgiving custom, and see you all as you go out. It is fine to be here. (Applause)

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